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McBRIDE'S

Pioneer Biography.

VOL. I.

Engd by A.H.Ritchie

JAMES McBRIDE.

OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL SERIES

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PIONEER BIOGRAPHY.

SKETCHES OF THE

Lives of some of the Early Settlers

OF

BUTLER COUNTY, OHIO.

BY

JAMES McBRIDE,
of Hamilton.

Vol. I.

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PUBLISHERS' NOTICE.

THE present series of biographical sketches form part of the manuscript collections of the late JAMES McBRIDE, of Hamilton, which have been placed in our hands by his daughter. Having been partially prepared for the press by the author, we have selected them as our first publication from his papers. There were many dates, christian names, etc., left blank in the manuscripts, which we have endeavored to supply. We are especially indebted to Rev. JOSEPH MILLIKIN of Hamilton for his aid in this matter, particularly in the sketches of JOHN REILY, and of his grandfather JOSEPH HOUGH.

These unpretending sketches were compiled chiefly from memoranda, letters, and journals of the persons whose lives and adventures he has so faithfully sketched—some of them, during their lives and with their approval. Many of the original papers, from which they were drawn, and the first drafts of the sketches, with marginal notes of emendations and additions, are in our possession, and we can bear testimony to the scrupulous care and fidelity with which he has performed his task.

The work will, we think, be found to possess an interest beyond the mere details of the lives of the individuals. They were all of them men who took an active part in the settlement of the Miami country, were prominent in public affairs,

both civil and military, and participated in many of the early conflicts with the Indians in Ohio and Kentucky, and in the campaigns of Generals HARMAR, ST. CLAIR, SCOTT, and WAYNE; so that, interspersed in the narratives, will be found many details of interest concerning these early struggles, from the notes and recollections of eye-witnesses, which have never before, with a few exceptions, appeared in print. This leads us to remark, that on first reading these papers, we were impressed with our familiarity with some of the descriptions, incidents, etc. On further investigation we found that portions of them had been published, years ago, by Mr. CHARLES CIST, in his *Cincinnati Advertiser*, as editorial matter, and that the sketch of JOHN REILY is, in many parts, word for word with that given by Judge BURNET in the last chapter of his *Notes on the North-western Territory*. These coincidences seemed to indicate a plagiarism on the part of the author, which, however, we could hardly entertain, as we have so many evidences of his authorship in the original papers, in our possession, from which he had drawn his narratives. We mentioned the matter to Mr. CIST, since deceased, and he stated that he had frequently applied to Mr. MCBRIDE for contributions to his paper, but that he never could induce him to write specially for him, though he was ever ready to place at his disposal any of his own sketches, or other papers in his possession. Of these, Mr. CIST said, he frequently availed himself, and used them in making up articles, without indicating the source from which he received them, with Mr. MCBRIDE's consent, and at his request. In reference to the sketch of Mr. REILY, in BURNET's *Notes*, we have printed in the appendix (page 73) a long letter from Judge BURNET to Mr. MCBRIDE, dated four years before his work was published, acknowledging the receipt and perusal of MCBRIDE's sketch of the life of his

old friend, and making comments thereon. He, doubtless, made use of the manuscript with his permission.

Mr. McBride was exceedingly modest and diffident in regard to his own labors; and though he liked to see them in print, he would seldom permit his name to appear in connection with them. Some of the sketches appeared in the Hamilton papers, as obituaries, anonymously, though their authorship was generally known.

We have deemed the above statements necessary in order to meet, beforehand, any charge of plagiarism which might be made by those familiar with the publications referred to.

The biographies will make two volumes. The second volume will contain sketches of Captain John Cleves Symmes, Jr., with a full explanation of his celebrated theory of *concentric spheres*; Robert McClellan, one of General Wayne's scouts during his campaign in Ohio; General John Wingate; Judge Henry Weaver; Isaac Paxton, and other pioneers of note.

Among the papers are portions of a history of Oxford, Ohio, and the Miami University, and also of the town of Hamilton; parts of these are, however, missing, and some chapters are only in outline. It may be some time before we will be able to complete them.

The portrait of Mr. McBride which accompanies this volume has been pronounced by his old friends, a most excellent likeness.

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JAMES McBRIDE.

THE late JAMES McBRIDE, of the city of Hamilton, Butler County, Ohio, was born on the 2d day of November, in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, on a farm near Conecocheague creek, a short distance from the town of Greencastle, Franklin County, Pennsylvania. He was of Scotch descent, his grandfather on each side having emigrated from the highlands of Scotland to America at an early day, and settled in Pennsylvania. He was the only child of his parents. His father, also named James, was killed in 1789 by the Indians on the Dryridge in the State of Kentucky, near the trace then leading from Lexington, Kentucky, to the mouth of the Licking. His mother, *nee* McRoberts, also of Scotch descent, survived her loss nineteen years, and died in September, 1808, aged thirty-seven years, on the farm, near Conecocheague creek, where she was born and had always lived.

James McBride was, at the time of his death, one of the oldest and best known pioneers of Southern Ohio, having emigrated to Hamilton from Pennsylvania in 1806, being then in his eighteenth year. Having at so early an age determined to become the architect of his own fortune in the then wilds of the far West, he had, of course, not received more than a limited education. Possessing, however, a high cast of intellect, an unquenchable thirst for knowledge, a decided literary taste, and untiring industry and application, he, by indulging these proclivities, acquired in time a vast fund of varied and useful knowledge, as well as superior scholastic attainment. Of thoughtful and taciturn disposition, he was never more contented than when in his large and well-selected library (said to have been the most valuable private collection of miscellaneous and standard works at that time in the West), perusing, undisturbed, his favorite authors, or dotting down the workings of his comprehensive mind. For many years he gave his attention to the survey and investigation of the remarkable monuments and supposed Indian fortifications so widely scattered throughout Southern

Ohio and Indiana. In the prosecution of this favorite work, he spent much time, labor, and means, and collected an extensive and valuable cabinet of Indian antiquities, now in the possession of a gentleman of Philadelphia, by whom they are highly prized. His antiquarian notes, drawings, plans of survey, and manuscripts, furnished to the compilers of the first work published by the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, entitled "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley," constitute a considerable portion of that work, for which, the compilers, either through negligence or design, have failed to accord him due credit.

Though not a partisan politician, he held several offices of honor and trust, both in the county and state, conferred unsolicited upon him by his fellow citizens, who well knew and fully appreciated his probity, unerring wisdom, and faithful attention to, and accomplishment of, whatever he undertook. From its first organization, he was prominently connected with the MIAMI UNIVERSITY at Oxford, Ohio, as a member of the board of trustees, and at the time of his death,

their president, which position he had held for some years previous. Much of the present renown enjoyed by that university, as an institution of learning, is, in a great measure, due to the interest he took in, and the time he devoted to, its prosperity and reputation. He was truly devoted to the interest and improvement of the State of Ohio, and particularly so to that portion of it (Butler county) where he resided. He was the first to afford material and personal aid to all projects which, in his judgment, had for their object the advancement of the happiness, comfort, and prosperity of his fellow citizens. Charitable almost to a fault, the needy asking assistance never left his door unaided, he dispensed his charities in the true christian spirit, not letting his left hand know what his right hand did.

Early in his life he married Hannah, daughter of Judge Lytle, of Butler county, with whom he lived in true happiness forty-five years, and had issue three sons and two daughters. After his devoted wife's death, which sad event occurred on the 23d day of September, 1859, he appeared to lose all interest in life and its surroundings, and seemed anxious to follow the

departed one. He survived her but ten days, and breathed his last, perfectly reconciled to go, on the 3d day of October, 1859, aged seventy years and eleven months, leaving an untarnished record of a profitable and well-spent life, lamented by all who knew him, and most by those who knew him best. Two sons and two daughters were left parentless by these sad visitations of Providence, all of whom have since passed away except the eldest daughter, the writer of this sketch.

LAURA McBRIDE STEMBEL.

PREFACE.

THE history of states and empires is composed of little more than the collected accounts of individuals and families, but generally those only are mentioned who have been famous in war, or conspicuous in important official stations. It too often happens, that many men, eminently distinguished for talents, and for the possession and exercise of every manly and social virtue, and who have rendered the most essential services to society, at different times and in various capacities, in private life have been suffered to sink into their graves "unwept, unhonored, and unsung," except, perhaps, in a short obituary notice, no sooner read than forgotten, by all but the immediate relatives of the deceased.

The generation of hardy men, who first settled the western country, who encountered the perils of Indian warfare and wrested the beautiful country we now enjoy in peace, from the possession of the savages; who encountered and endured all the dangers and privations of a frontier life, have now nearly all passed away.

These men should not be forgotten, who subdued the dense forest and made the wilderness to blossom as the rose; who, rifle in hand, cleared up the broad acres, which now yield to their descendants bountiful harvests of golden grain, to gladden the heart and swell the fortunes of their favored sons. The story of their sufferings and achievements should not be allowed to sink into oblivion.

To preserve the names and record the services of a few of the early residents of Butler county, in the State of Ohio, is the object of the following short biographical sketches.

The writer, though not one of the earliest pioneers of the West, was intimately acquainted with a great number of them, from whom he learned many of the incidents relating to the early settlement of the country. With most of the persons, whose lives he has attempted to sketch, he had a long and familiar acquaintance, and with many of them he has had an extensive correspondence. He has, also, availed himself of much information derived from their surviving relatives, and others who were contemporary with them.

J. McB.

PIONEER BIOGRAPHY.

John Reily.

JOHN REILY, late of Hamilton, in the State of Ohio, was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, on the 10th day of April, 1763. When he was five or six years of age, his parents removed from Pennsylvania with their family, and settled on a farm near Staunton, Augusta County, Virginia.

This part of Virginia was then a frontier settlement. The Indians were hostile and made frequent incursions into the settlements of that State and Pennsylvania, situated in the valley between the Blue Ridge and the North Mountain, for the purpose of murder and devastation. The families then residing in that section were under the necessity of congregating in block-houses, or forts, for security against these attacks of the savages.

In October, 1774, a severe battle was fought at the mouth of the Great Kanawha river, between the Virginia troops, under the command of General Andrew Lewis,* and the Indians under the direction of the cele-

* See Appendix B.

brated chief, Cornstalk. During this time, the Reily family were residing, for security, in a small fort near Staunton. Mr. Reily frequently mentioned this circumstance, which was strongly impressed on his memory.

He remained with his father until the year 1780, when, at the age of seventeen, he joined the Revolutionary Army, and served eighteen months in the Southern Department under Major-General Nathaniel Greene, who had, on the 22d of October in that year, been appointed to the command of that Department, including Virginia and Maryland, by General Washington, in pursuance of a resolution of Congress.

The campaign in South Carolina and Georgia, the following year, was uncommonly active. The importance of the object, the perseverance with which it was pursued, the talents of the commanding general, the carnage and sufferings of the troops, and the accumulated miseries of the inhabitants, give to the contest in these states a degree of interest seldom bestowed on military transactions in which greater numbers have been employed.

The first battle in which Mr. Reily participated was that of Guilford Court-House, fought on the 15th of March, 1781. The British force amounted to two thousand four hundred regular troops, of whom one-fourth were killed or wounded. The Americans numbered four thousand four hundred, all but about one thousand

three hundred of whom were raw militia or newly-enlisted and but half-equipped regulars. Their loss was about four hundred and fifty killed and wounded and eight hundred missing, with several cannon captured by the enemy. Cornwallis rightly claimed a victory, but as Fox said in the House of Commons, "Another such victory would ruin the British army." A few days later, the British retreated in haste, closely pursued and continually harrassed by General Greene.

The second battle in which Mr. Reily was engaged was that of Camden. The American army under General Greene was encamped about a mile from that town, then in the possession of the British. On the morning of the 25th of April, 1781, Lord Rawdon, the British commander, made an attack on the American troops with his whole force. The contest was severe and bloody. At one time a portion of the British force was so closely pressed that they were retiring from the field, and General Greene anticipated the complete rout of the British army; but his brilliant prospects were blasted, and victory was snatched from his grasp by one of those incidents against which military prudence can make no provision. Through some misunderstanding of orders a part of the army lost their formation, were a long time in recovering from their confusion, and meantime suffered from the fire of the British. Perceiving this sudden reverse of fortune, and knowing that he could not hope with his second line to restore

the action, he thought it advisable to secure his army from the hazard of a total defeat, and ordered a retreat, which was effected in good order. This battle, like the preceding, however, was followed by the results of a substantial victory.

The effective rank and file of the American troops engaged in this action, rather exceeded twelve hundred men, of which one hundred and thirty were cavalry and artillery. Their loss in killed, wounded, and missing is stated at two hundred and sixty-six; that of the British at two hundred and fifty-eight.

The American troops remained in the neighborhood watching the movements of the enemy, intercepting their communication with Charleston, and cutting off their supplies of provisions. On the 10th of May, the British troops burnt and destroyed their works and evacuated Camden.

Mr. Reily was also with the army of General Greene when, on the 22d of May, it invested the town of Ninety-six, which the British had fortified. They had one particularly strong work, called the Star, consisting of sixteen salient angles surrounded by a dry ditch, fraise, and abattis. The following night the Americans broke ground within seventy yards of the British works; but the besieged having mounted their artillery in the star, made, under its protection, a vigorous and successful sally, in which they drove off the advance party of the

besiegers, put several of them to the bayonet, and carried off their intrenching tools.

General Greene continued to invest the place till the 18th of June, when, having learned that Lord Rawdon was approaching with two thousand men, he determined to attempt carrying the works by storm, though they were so strong—a parapet twelve feet high, raised three feet higher with sand bags—that it would have been madness to assault them, unless he should succeed in making a lodgment in one of the curtains of the star redoubt, and at the same time carry the fort on the left.

As soon as the mode of proceeding was resolved on, the proper dispositions were made for carrying it into effect. Lieutenant-Colonel Lee, with the legion of infantry and Kirkwood's light infantry, was ordered to assault the works on the left of the town; while Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with the first Maryland regiment and the first Virginia, to which Mr. Reily was attached, was to attempt the star redoubt. The lines of the third parallel were manned, and all the artillery opened on the besieged. About noon, the various detachments marched vigorously to the assault. Against the left, Colonel Lee's attack was successful. He forced the works in that quarter and took possession of them. But on the right the resistance was more determined, and Colonel Campbell, though equally brave, was less fortunate. Lieutenants Duval, of Mary-

land, and Selden, of Virginia, led the forlorn hope, and were followed by a party carrying hooks to pull down the sand bags in order to facilitate the lodgment proposed to be made on the curtain. They advanced gallantly into the ditch, but its depth and the hight of the parapet opposed obstructions which could scarcely be surmounted. The commander of the star had lined the parapet with troops armed with bayonets and spears, and the right flank of the assailants were exposed to the galling fire of four field pieces from the block-house in the village. Under these trying circumstances they continued in the ditch nearly three-quarters of an hour, making incessant efforts to accomplish their object In this time, Lieutenants Duval and Selden were both badly wounded, and nearly all the forlorn hope were either killed or disabled. General Greene, in his report, says: "Never was greater bravery exhibited." At length the obstinacy with which the works were defended and the great loss which must attend a further prosecution of the assault, induced its relinquishment, and the remaining troops were recalled from the ditch.

To remain longer before Ninety-Six could only endanger the American army; accordingly, the next day, General Greene raised the siege, crossed the Saluda, and encamped on Little river. In this siege the Amercan loss in killed and wounded amounted to one hundred and fifty-five men; that of the British has been

stated by themselves at eighty-five. On the 12th of July following, the British garrison evacuated their fort and works at Ninety-Six.

The last affair of consequence in which Mr. Reily took part was the hard-fought battle of Eutaw Springs, in South Carolina, on the 8th of September, 1781, near the close of the Revolutionary war.

Early in the morning of that day the American army moved from their encampment and marched to attack the British forces. Their advance was met two or three miles from their camp, and was soon driven in on the main body, when the whole line became closely engaged. In the course of the action, Colonels Williams and Campbell, with the Virginia troops, were ordered to charge the enemy with trailed arms. These orders were executed with the most determined courage, under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry. The veteran British corps, which had been inured to hard service, received them on the points of their bayonets. For a short time the hostile ranks were intermingled, and the officers fought hand to hand. In this critical moment, Lee, who had turned the British left flank, charged them in the rear. So fierce a conflict could not be long maintained. The British line was completely broken, and they were driven from the field pursued by the Americans. The company to which Mr. Reily belonged, in the ardor of the pursuit, had advanced farther than they ought to have done, for when they halted they

found the enemy's lines had been filled up, preventing their return, so that they had to make a wide circuit to join their own troops. The day was so distressingly hot that when the company came to a stream on their way back, they rushed into the water up to their knees and dipped the water with their hands to assuage their thirst.

There was a large three-story brick house standing on the right of the battle-field which was occupied by some of the British troops, while others placed themselves in an adjoining picketed garden, from both of which positions a most deadly fire was poured upon the Americans, who were exposed to all its fury. Great efforts were made to dislodge them from their strong position but without effect. General Greene withdrew his troops out of the range of their fire, and formed again in the woods. He then collected his wounded, and after leaving a strong picket on the field, retired with his prisoners to the ground from which he had marched in the morning. No nearer position afforded water to refresh his men, who were exhausted with the fatigues of an engagement of four hours duration, on one of the hottest days of the season.

The number engaged on each side was about two thousand. The American dead on the field amounted to one hundred and thirty-seven men; the whole number of their killed, wounded, and missing was five hundred and fifty-five. Among the slain was Colonel

Campbell, who was killed while leading the Virginia brigade to that bold and decisive charge that broke the British line. The loss of the British army was stated by themselves at six hundred and ninety-three men, of whom only eighty-five were killed on the field.

This brilliant affair which covered the American army with glory, and in which Mr. Reily was distinguished for his bravery and good conduct, so crippled the enemy in the South as to deter them from any further efforts in that quarter.

At the expiration of his term of eighteen months when Mr. Reily retired from the service, he received a certificate of honorable discharge under the hand and seal of General George Washington himself.

He returned to his home in Virginia, where he remained about two years; when, becoming excited by the favorable accounts of the rich country in the West, in the winter of 1783-'84 being not then twenty-one years of age, he left his paternal home in Virginia, and set out to seek his fortune in the Wilds of Kentucky.

He had a brother-in-law, married to his eldest sister, who had emigrated to that state, and was then residing near where the town of Danville now is, in Lincoln county. Here Mr. Reily remained some five or six years, making the house of his brother-in-law his home. A portion of the time he labored on the farm, and,

although he had never learned any trade, being possessed of a mechanical genius, he occasionally worked at carpenter work assisting to build houses in the then new settlement. He also made plows, harrows, and other agricultural implements for the use of the settlers, and during the last year of his residence in Kentucky, he taught an English school. He removed to Columbia in the then North-West Territory, in 1789, where he arrived a few days before Christmas. (18th December.)*

A short account of this settlement may not be out of place here. Major Benjamin Stites, of Redstone, Penn., on the Monongahela river, had contracted with Judge John Cleves Symmes for the purchase of a tract of land to contain ten thousand acres, at the mouth of the Little Miami river. He descended the Ohio river with a company of eighteen or twenty men, and landed at the mouth of the Little Miami on the 18th of November, 1788. They immediately commenced the erection of a block-house for the protection of the settlers, just below the mouth of the river. A part of the number stood guard while the rest worked upon their building, which in a few days was sufficiently prepared for their reception. Three other block-houses were soon afterward erected near the first, forming a square stockade fort which they named Fort Miami. A

* For extract of Mr. Reily's Journal, see Appendix C.

town was laid out a short distance below the garrison, to which the settlers gave the name of Columbia, and log cabins were built without delay for the accommodation of the several families.*

Little, however, could be done beyond supplying present sustenance for the party from the woods. Wild game was abundant, but the breadstuffs which they took with them were soon exhausted, and supplies of corn and salt were only to be obtained at a distance and in small quantities. Various roots of indigenous plants were used as articles of food. The women and children would go from Columbia to Turkey-bottom, one and a half miles above the mouth of the Little Miami to scratch up the bulbous roots of the bear-grass, which, when mashed, boiled and dried, were pounded into a kind of flour which served as a tolerable substitute for wheat and corn flour.

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*Among the first settlers of Columbia were, Benjamin Stites, the original proprietor, William Goforth, John S. Gano, Elijah Mills, James Baily, Capt. James Flinn, his father, a very old man, and two brothers, Luke Foster, Gabriel Foster, Aaron Mercer, Zephu Ball, —— Newell, Benjamin Davis, David Davis and his son Samuel, David Jennings and his sons Levi and Henry, James Carpenter, James Seward, Ezekiel Larned, Jonathan Pitman, John Webb, John Morris, Ichabod B. Miller, Daniel Griffin, —— Wickerham, —— Wickerham, John Hardin, James Matthews, Hugh Dunn, Patrick Moore, William Moore, John Manning, Jonathan Ross, Cornelius Hurley, Joseph Grose, John McCulloch, Edmund Buxton, Jonas Bowman, John Phillips, and Benj. F. Randolph.

When the spring of 1789 opened, the situation of the settlers promised to improve. In Turkey-bottom a tract of about six hundred and forty acres was already cleared when the settlers arrived, the Indians having cultivated it for a long series of years. Nothing could surpass the fertility of the soil, which was as mellow as an ash-heap. Major Stites leased the ground to the settlers. The men worked in divisions, one half keeping guard with their rifles while the others worked, changing their employment morning and afternoon. Benjamin Randolph planted one acre of corn on this ground, which he had not time to hoe, being obliged to leave the settlement for New Jersey. When he returned in the fall he found one hundred bushels of corn ready for husking.*

Among the early settlers of Columbia was Mr. James Seward from New Jersey, who had a family of small boys. On the 20th of September, 1789, two of his sons were out a short distance from the village, when some Indians came upon them, tomahawked and scalped one of the boys and took the other prisoner. He was never heard of afterward. Mr. Seward, about the year 1790, settled on a farm on the Great Miami river, about three miles

* Mr. Randolph settled in Hamilton soon after the town was laid out, and cultivated land in the prairie below the town. He afterward settled on a farm on the road between Hamilton and Middletown, where he spent the remainder of his days.

below Hamilton, where he lived until his decease. He lies buried on the south line of the tract of land which he owned, next to the Walker farm. One of his sons, Daniel, lived many years in Hamilton, and kept a tavern in the southern part of the town. Some years ago, he removed to Illinois, and is since deceased.

In November, 1789, a flood occurred in the Ohio river of such magnitude as to overflow the lower part of Columbia. It rose to such a hight as at first to drive the soldiers in one of the block-houses into the upper story, and then out by the gable window into a boat, in which they crossed the river to the hills on the Kentucky side. Only one of the houses in Columbia remained out of water. The site of Fort Miami, at the mouth of the Little Miami, has since been entirely washed away by the encroachment of the Ohio.

The first settlers of Columbia suffered considerably before the crops of their second year produced food. They had often to subsist on corn pounded into hominy or ground in a hand-mill. There were no other mills in the country at the time. The first mill in Hamilton county was constructed by Mr. W. Coleman, father of Jesse Coleman, by making fast two flat-boats, side by side, near together, in the Ohio river, the water-wheel was placed between them and propelled by the current of the river. The mill-stones with the grain and meal were in one boat, and the machinery in the other. This answered a temporary pur-

pose, until mills were built on the Little Miami river.

On the 10th of January, 1791, the settlers of Columbia were alarmed by an express which arrived from Cincinnati, with intelligence that an attack had been made on Dunlap's station at Colerain,* by a large body of Indians. The information had been brought to Cincinnati by some persons who were out in the woods hunting in the neighborhood of Colerain, and were sufficiently near the fort to hear the firing when it commenced in the morning, and judging that the garrison was attacked, they immediately returned to raise the alarm.

A company of volunteers was very soon raised in Columbia, Mr. Reily among the number, armed with rifles and mounted. They formed under the command of Lieutenant Luke Foster, and marched to Cincinnati in the night where they joined Captain Alexander Truman, with thirty-eight regular soldiers from the garrison at Fort Washington, and thirty-three volunteer citizens under Lieutenant Scott Traverse, all mounted. They started for the relief of the station before daylight next morning. Two nights previous it had rained and frozen, and afterward snowed so that the ground was covered six or seven inches deep. John Reily and Patrick Moore (afterward of Butler county, but deceased many years ago), who both rode white horses,

* For account of Dunlap's Station, see Appendix D.

were directed to proceed a short distance in advance of the main body, as a picket guard or spies, to give notice if the enemy should appear. Samuel Davis, for many years a resident of Nine-mile, Wayne township, Butler county, but now deceased, was one of the volunteers from Cincinnati on that occasion.

When the party had advanced about six miles from Cincinnati, they met John S. Wallace and William Wiseman, who had left the station during the night, to inform the garrison at Fort Washington of their situation. Between ten and eleven o'clock the party arrived at the top of the hills overlooking the plain on which Dunlap's Station was situated, when it was discovered that the Indians had abandoned the siege and retired.

On arriving at the fort they learned that the garrison, although in imminent danger, had sustained but little injury. On the first fire, the Indians shot into a building called the *mill*, where the hand-mill was kept for grinding the corn of the neighboring settlers and the garrison. It stood on a line with and near the block-house, and being neither chunked nor daubed the Indians shot between the logs, by which means they killed one man and wounded another. The body of Abner Hunt,* who had been taken prisoner by the Indians a few days previous, was found near the fort, shockingly

* A respectable citizen of New Jersey, who came out with Judge Symmes as a surveyor.

mangled and stripped naked, his head scalped, his brains beaten out, and two war clubs laid across his breast. He, in company with John S. Wallace, John Sloan, and a Mr. Cunningham, had been exploring the country on the west side of the Great Miami river. On the night of the 7th of January they encamped on the river bank a short distance above Colerain. Next morning, after roasting their venison and taking breakfast, they set out to explore the Miami Bottoms near where the town of Venice, Butler county, now is. They had not proceeded from their camp more than a hundred yards when they were beset by the savages, in the rear, who fired a volley of eight or ten guns. Cunningham was killed on the spot; Hunt, being thrown from his horse, was made prisoner; Sloan, although shot through the body, kept on his horse and escaped, Hunt's loose horse following him. Wallace was on foot at the time, and took to the woods pursued by two Indians, but owing to his uncommon activity he out-ran them. During his flight he was twice shot at but without effect; his leggins loosened as he ran, and at the moment of the first shot they tripped him and he fell. The Indians supposing him struck by the bullet, raised their shout *wah! hoo!* calculating to a certainty on getting his scalp, but Wallace hastily tied his leggins and resumed his flight. In about two miles he overtook Sloan with Hunt's horse following him, which he caught and mounted. The Indians had ceased their pursuit.

Sloan complained of faintness from his wound, and by the advice of Wallace thrust a part of his shirt into the bullet hole to stop the flow of blood. Crossing the Miami they directed their course toward Cincinnati, but at length they halted and held a consultation, the result of which was a determination to go back to the station and apprise the garrison of the presence of the Indians in the neighborhood, and put them on their guard. When they arrived there, Sloan was very weak and faint, and his wound began to bleed afresh. Lieutenant Kingsbury, who commanded at the station, with true soldierly hospitality, surrendered his narrow quarters for the accommodation of the wounded man. The next day a party of five or six men, accompanied by Wallace, went out in search of the body of Cunningham, which they found tomahawked and scalped. They buried it where they found it, and returned to the station.

Before sunrise on the morning of the 10th of January, just as the women were milking the cows in the fort, the Indians made their appearance before it and fired a volley, wounding a soldier named M^c^Vicker. Every man in the fort was immediately posted to the best advantage by the commander, and the fire returned. A parley was then held at the request of the Indians, and Abner Hunt, whom they had taken prisoner as before mentioned, was brought forward securely bound, with his arms pinioned behind him, by an Indian, or as some

say, the notorious Simon Girty, the leader of the party, holding him by the rope. Mounting him on a stump within speaking distance of the garrison, he was compelled to demand and urge the surrender of the place, which, in the hope of saving his own life, he did in the most pressing terms, promising that if it were done, life and property would be held sacred. Not a single individual in the fort, however, would agree to a surrender. Lieutenant Kingsbury took an elevated position where he could overlook the pickets, and promptly rejected all their propositions, telling them that he had dispatched a messenger to Judge Symmes, who would soon be up to their relief, with the whole settlement on the Ohio. He failed, however, to impose on them. They replied that it was a lie, as they knew Judge Symmes was then in New Jersey; and informed him that they had five hundred warriors, and would soon be joined by three hundred more, and that if an immediate surrender was not made, they would all be massacred and the station burned. Lieutenant Kingsbury replied that he would not surrender if he were surrounded by five hundred devils, and immediately leaped from his position into the fort. The Indians fired at him, and a ball struck off the white plume he wore in his hat. The prisoner Hunt was cruelly tortured and killed within sight of the garrison.

The station was completely invested by the Indians, and the attack was most violent. They commenced

like men certain of victory, and for some time the garrison was in great danger. The Indians fired, as usual, from behind stumps, trees, and logs, and set fire to a quantity of brush-wood that had been collected by the settlers, and then rushing in with burning brands attempted to fire the cabins and pickets. The vigilance and close firing of the besieged, however, prevented the accomplishment of this object. One Indian was killed just as he reached the buildings. In the night they threw blazing arrows from their bows, against the stockade, and upon the roofs of the buildings, with the intention of firing them, but in this they were also unsuccessful. The garrison, well knowing that their lives depended upon it, met them at every point. The attack was continued, without intermission, during the whole of the day and the succeeding night, and until nine o'clock in the morning of the 11th, when the Indians, despairing of success and perhaps apprehensive of the arrival of reinforcements from Cincinnati, raised the siege, and retreated in two parties, one to the right and the other to the left, as was afterward discovered by their tracks.

The whole strength of the garrison was eighteen soldiers and eight or ten of the settlers capable of bearing arms; the entire number in the fort, including women and children, not counting the soldiers, did not exceed thirty souls. The Indians were estimated, by those in the fort, at from three to five hundred, led by the infa-

mous renegade, Simon Girty, as was ascertained seven years after, on the return of a white man who had been taken prisoner near the station a few days before the attack.

The little garrison, although but a handful compared with the host by which they were assailed, displayed great bravery, in some instances amounting to rashness. During the incessant fire from both sides, they frequently, for a moment, exposed their persons above the tops of the pickets, mocking the savages and daring them to come on. Women, as well as men, used every expedient in their power to provoke and irritate the enemy. They exhibited the caps of the soldiers above the pickets, as marks to be shot at. According to their own accounts, they conducted themselves with great folly as well as bravery, though their apparent confidence may have induced the Indians to raise the siege the sooner. When the garrison was in danger of falling short of bullets, the women melted down all their pewter plates and spoons to keep up the supply.

John S. Wallace, who, as was said above, had made his escape from the Indians a few days previous, was still in the fort, and at night volunteered to pass through the enemy's lines to Cincinnati to obtain aid from General Harmar, at Fort Washington. At ten o'clock he made an attempt, but the place was so closely invested that he could not make his escape. The river side of the fort suggested itself as the place for another trial, as

there were apparently no Indians on the west side of the river. Fortunately, the night was very dark, and about three o'clock in the morning, Mr. Wallace, and a soldier named William Wiseman,* got into a canoe and silently paddled across. They drew up the canoe on the opposite bank and concealed it among the bushes that it might not be discovered by the Indians, and then silently and swiftly made their way through the woods down the river bottom for a couple of miles, where they attempted to cross through the floating ice. The water proving too deep, they pursued their course down the river a mile or more, when they effected a crossing near where the town of New Baltimore now is, and striking through the woods for Cincinnati, they met the before-mentioned party from that place and Columbia, going to their relief, and returned with them to the station. A portion of the soldiers remained there to assist in strengthening the fortifications, the party to which Mr. Riley belonged returning to Columbia that evening.

Colonel John S. Wallace, who volunteered his services to make the hazardous attempt to leave the fort, afterward resided in Cincinnati, much respected as an amiable and worthy citizen, and holding several offices of honor and trust, at the time of his death, being

* This account differs very materially from that given by Mr. Wiseman. See Appendix E.

auditor of Hamilton county. He died at his desk in the office. Mr. Wiseman, the soldier who accompanied him, was living, when last heard from, in the vicinity of Lancaster, Ohio.

The Indians were continually prowling around the settlement at Columbia, and it was with difficulty that horses could be kept. The halter chains were sometimes passed between the logs of the cabins and fastened to strong hooks on the inside; but neither this precaution nor securing them with hobbles could always save them from the savages. On one occasion, a fine mare with her colt had been left in the rear of a house in a small enclosure. During the night the mare was taken off by the Indians, who led her by a stout buffalo tug. The night was dark, and they did not notice the colt, which sprang over the fence and made such a noise in galloping after them, that they, supposing themselves pursued, let the mare go lest she should impede their escape. The family knew nothing of the affair till morning, when the buffalo tug told the night's adventure.

At another time, a few families, who had settled on the hillside near where Colonel Spencer afterward resided,* had hung out their clothing to dry. Early in the evening a party of Indians made a descent and

* Then called Morristown, from John Morris, the most prominent individual of the settlement.

carried off every piece. So noiseless were their movements, that the loss was not discovered till the family were about to retire for the night. Pursuit was made early in the morning, and the trail followed for several miles, when they came to the camp of the Indians, which they had deserted on the approach of the settlers, abandoning all their plunder to effect their escape. The clothing was recovered uninjured, except some coverlets which had been raveled out to make belts.

Luke Foster was one of the early settlers at Columbia. He had been appointed a lieutenant by Governor St. Clair. In 1789, General Harmar sent Captains Strong and Kersey from Fort Washington to Columbia, to procure corn for the soldiers. They applied to James Flinn, but he refused to sell to the army, alleging that the previous year, while residing at Belleville, below Marietta, he had furnished corn for the supply of the troops at Fort Harmar, and had never been paid for it, in consequence of the removal to some other station of the officer who made the purchase. Captain Strong stated that if they could not get corn the garrison must retreat or starve, as they had been on half rations for nine days, and their supply was nearly exhausted. Mr. Foster, on hearing this statement, immediately offered to lend the garrison one hundred bushels to be returned the next season. How poorly these frontier posts were provisioned, may be inferred from the fact that Mr. Foster the next season had to

ride to Cincinnati six times to get nineteen bushels of his corn. He gave the following account of this crop, which enabled him to relieve the garrison at Fort Washington. He had run out of seed corn, and the only person who could supply him happened to be out of corn-meal. Mr. Foster having a small quantity of that article, exchanged thirteen pint cups of corn-meal for the same quantity of corn, and with it planted two acres and a half in Turkey-bottom. The crop was put in late, and the season was dry; yet, such was the fertility and condition of the soil, that turning up the earth on the hills kept it moist and gave him an excellent crop.*

There is one circumstance, relating to these early times, often repeated by Mr. Reily, which may be worthy of mention. Mr. Jonas Bowman lived in the cabin, lowest down the Ohio in the settlement, which stood at some distance from any other house. On the 4th of March, 1791, Mr. Reily and Mr. Bowman

* Mr. Foster afterward settled on a farm in Springfield township, Hamilton county, about two miles south of Springdale, where he spent the remainder of his days. He was one of the first Associate Judges of the Court of Common Pleas, which office he held many years. Enfeebled by age, he lost his hearing, and on the 28th of August, 1851, was killed by a gravel-train while walking on the track of the Cincinnati, Hamilton & Dayton Railroad, which passed through his farm. He was eighty-eight years of age at the time of this accident. During his residence at Columbia, a warm friendship commenced between him and Mr. Reily, which only terminated by the death of the Judge.

crossed the Ohio and went up the Licking to hunt wild turkeys, which were there very abundant. In the evening they returned with their game. The night was dark and the weather cold; as the house was neither chunked nor daubed, large fires were kept up, which illuminated the whole house, and could be seen a considerable distance through the apertures between the logs. That night two or three Indians entered the settlement on a plundering expedition, and as Bowman's house was detached, aided by the light of the large fire, they advanced pretty near it and fired between the logs. Mrs. Bowman, who was sitting by the fire, suckling her child at the time, with great presence of mind, the moment the report of the gun was heard, seized a bucket of water which stood on a bench close by, and threw it on the fire, extinguishing the light in a moment, and preventing the inmates of the house from being seen. Mr. Bowman sprang for his rifle, rushed out of the house, and fired, but without effect, after the retreating Indians. On examination, Mrs. Bowman found a flattened bullet inside the bosom of her dress. The ball had, doubtless, struck and glanced from a log of the cabin as it passed through one of the chunks, thereby deadening its force.

No other house was attacked that night; but fearing that a large body of Indians might be in the neighborhood, ready to attack the settlement in the morning, an express was immediately dispatched to Cincinnati for

aid from the fort. Major Strong, of the regular army, with twenty-five soldiers and about the same number of volunteers; Thomas Irwin, late of Butler county, then of Cincinnati, was among the latter, started and reached Columbia before daylight. When it became light enough, Captains Flinn and Kilby, John Reily, Thomas Irwin, and six or eight other mounted men, turned out and scoured the roads for several miles round, but discovered no signs of Indians except the two who made the attack on Bowman's house. The party returned to Fort Washington in the evening. Some of the descendants of Mr. Bowman afterward lived in Middletown, Butler County, Ohio.

The settlers were so constantly exposed to the incursions of the Indians that their safety was secured only by being ready at a moment's warning to resist an attack. It was as natural and customary for them to carry their rifles to their corn-fields and potato-patches as their hoes and other implements of husbandry; and when they assembled on the Sabbath to engage in worship, whether in a log cabin or under a tree, it was with loaded rifles at their sides. Indeed, they were required by law to do so. On the 2d day of July, 1791, the governor and judges of the territory passed "an act to alter and amend the militia laws," the second section of which is as follows:

"SECTION 2. *And be it enacted*, That whenever persons enrolled in the militia of this territory shall assemble at any place for public worship, every such person shall arm and equip himself, according to law in the same manner as if he were marching to engage the enemy, and on default he shall be fined as the law directs in cases of default when ordered for guard or other ordinary military duty, one half of which fine shall be for the benefit and use of the informant, and the other half for the use of the county; and the justices of the peace in each and every of the counties shall have jurisdiction herein. And on complaint being made on oath to any one of the aforesaid justices of the peace, of any person belonging to the militia appearing at such place of worship without his arms, ammunition, and accoutrements or any article of them directed by law, such justice of the peace shall issue his warrant directed to one of the constables of the county, commanding him to levy such fine upon the goods and chattels of such defaulter, and the same goods and chattels the constable shall advertize in some public place in the township or village for the space of five days, and if such fine be not paid within the five days, such constable shall proceed to sell so much of the same effects, at public vendue, for ready money, as will answer and pay the fine, and also fifty cents costs, which costs shall be one third to the use of the justice of the peace, and two thirds thereof to the use of the constable, and the constable shall return the overplus (if any) to the defaulter." *

In the month of December, 1784, Elder David Jones,† a Baptist preacher from Pennsylvania, visited Columbia, and in one of the block-houses of Fort

* Laws of the North-West Territory, printed at Philadelphia in 1792, page 67.

† See Appendix F.

Miami, delivered the first sermon preached in the Miami country. During that winter, John Mason,* a Baptist preacher from Kentucky, and David Rice,† a Presbyterian minister, also from Kentucky, visited Columbia and preached in the fort. In March, 1790, Elder Stephen Gano,‡ an eminent Baptist minister of Providence, Rhode Island, visited Columbia and preached several times. On the last Saturday in March he organized a church,|| consisting of nine members, viz: Benjamin Davis, Mary Davis, Isaac Ferris, Elizabeth Ferris, John S. Gano, Thomas C. Wade, John Ferris, Mary Ferris, Mrs. Meeks, and an aged lady whose name is not recollected. Isaac Ferris was appointed deacon, and John S. Gano clerk. After the church was organized, Elijah Stites, Rhoda Stites, and Sarah Ferris were received for baptism. On the next day (Sunday), Mr. Gano preached at the house of Major William Goforth, and baptized the above named three in the Ohio river. Doctor Gano was earnestly solicited to remain and take pastoral charge of the church, but he declined. In the early part of the summer of 1790, Elder John Smith, also a Baptist, came to the settlement and preached to the general satisfaction of the people. He received an unanimous call to become the pastor of the church, which he

* See Appendix G.

† See Appendix H.

‡ See Appendix I.

|| See Appendix J.

accepted. He went home to settle his business, expecting to return in October following. He did not return, however, until the ensuing spring. During his absence Daniel Clark, a licensed minister from Pennsylvania, arrived at Columbia and preached to the congregation until Mr. Smith's return.

Rev. John Smith was a man whose personal appearance was noble and commanding, and who was possessed of very popular manners and a remarkably fascinating address. He continued to preach for them several years, when he became a successful aspirant for political advancement. He was elected and served as a member of the convention that framed the Constitution of the State of Ohio, and was afterward one of the senators from Ohio in the Congress of the United States. Finally he was charged with having connection with the treasonable movements of Aaron Burr in 1805 and 1806, and resigned his seat in the Senate.*

In February, 1792, the congregation resolved to build a house of worship, which was to be thirty-six feet long by thirty feet wide, with galleries. It was not completed until late in the year 1793.† On September 23, 1793,

* See Appendix K.

† With the exception of the churches of the Moravian Missionaries, built at their settlements at Schoenbrunn and Gnadenhuetten in 1772, and destroyed in 1781-2, this was the first house of worship built in Ohio. An engraving of it in its dilapidated and deserted condition is given in

Elder John Gano,* a venerable Baptist minister, visited Columbia and preached to a large and attentive congregation in a beautiful grove of elms near the village (the meeting house not being yet completed). After the sermon, Mr. Gano, in connection with the pastor, Mr. Smith, ordained Daniel Clark † to the gospel ministry in a solemn and impressive manner. This was the first ordination in the Miami country.

On the 21st of June, 1790, Mr. Reily opened an English school at Columbia, the first taught in the place, or, indeed, in the whole Miami country, which he continued as long as he resided there.

In 1791, Francis Dunlevy, afterward presiding judge of the court of common pleas, came to Columbia from Kentucky, and joined Mr. Reily in his school, the former taking the classical department, the latter the English. Here commenced a warm and confidential friendship between these old pioneers, which was terminated only by the death of the Judge, which took place at Lebanon on the 5th of November, 1839, in his seventy-eighth year. ‡

In the month of January, 1792, General James Wilkinson, who then commanded at Fort Washington, made a call for volunteers to accompany an expedition

the *American Pioneer*, vol. 1, page 42. It was taken down in 1835. In the adjoining graveyard the remains of many of the early settlers were buried.

* See Appendix L. † See Appendix M. ‡ See Appendix N.

which he was about to send to the scene of St. Clair's defeat for the purpose of burying the dead that had been left on the field on the disasterous 4th of November previous, and for bringing away valuable property reported to be still remaining at the place. In response to this call a company of volunteers was formed at Columbia (John Reily among the number), under the command of Captain (afterward General) John S. Gano. One at North Bend, under command of Captain Brice Virgin (who afterward resided at Princton, Butler county, where he died), and one at Cincinnati, where they all assembled.

Some of the volunteers came in mounted on their own horses, many, however, were on foot, and were to be supplied with horses belonging to the government. These were kept across the river where Newport now is, and the Ohio being frozen, but not strong enough opposite Cincinnati to bear the horses, and yet too strong to enable them to force a channel, they were obliged to take the horses up the river above the mouth of the Little Miami, and cross there where the ice was strong enough to permit them to cross in safety.

The volunteers, when all assembled, numbered somewhat more than one hundred and fifty men, all mounted. They were joined by two hundred regular soldiers from Fort Washington. William Henry Harrison, afterward President of the United States, was an ensign in one of the companies of regulars. The expedition set out on

the 25th of January, General James Wilkinson commanding. There was a very heavy snow on the ground, which had increased the day before to two feet in depth, so they were obliged to take sleds along to carry their provisions and baggage.

The first night they encamped on the hill near the present sight of Farmer's College at College Hill. The next day they arrived at Fort Hamilton, where they remained one day and two nights perfecting their organization.* John S. Gano was here chosen Major. The ensuing day, the 28th, they crossed the Miami, with their horses and baggage, on the ice, about where the Junction railroad now crosses the river. They took the old trace opened by General St. Clair, and that night encamped at Seven-Mile creek. The second day afterward they reached Fort Jefferson, then the outside post, which was under the charge of Captain Shaylor.

At this place General Wilkinson issued an order, announcing that, in consequence of the depth of the snow, and the severity of the weather, he would abandon one object of the expedition, which was to destroy an Indian town on a branch of the Wabash, fifteen miles

* The company to which Mr. Reily belonged bivouacked in "Sycamore Grove" below the Fort, the first night. They slept before burning log-heaps, their saddles serving for pillows. In the night, Mr. Reily, unawares, got his head off his saddle on the ground. Attempting to rise in the morning, his cue—the universal mode of wearing the hair at that day—was frozen fast to the ground, and held him down until relieved by a comrade.

below St. Clair's battle-ground; directing the return of the regular soldiers, who were on foot, to Fort Washington, as they would not be needed, and stating that he would proceed with the mounted volunteers and the public sleds to the battle-ground for the purpose of bringing away such artillery and other property as might be recovered.

The next day they continued their march, and encamped within eight miles of their destination. On the ensuing day, at eleven o'clock, they arrived at the field of the disasterous defeat, and encamped where St. Clair's artillery had stood, with a view of beating down the snow to facilitate their finding the object of their search—cannon and corpses. On their last day's march, when within four miles of the field of battle, where the pursuit had ceased, the scene, even though covered with snow, was most melancholy. The bodies of the slain lay strewed along the road and in the woods on each side. Many of them had been dragged from under the snow and mutilated by wild beasts. One of the party counted seventy-eight bodies between the point where the pursuit terminated and the battle-field. No doubt there were many more who, finding themselves disabled, crawled to a distance out of sight of the road and there perished.

The great body of the slain were within an area of forty acres. The snow being deep the bodies could be discovered only by the elevation of the snow where

they lay. They had been scalped and stripped of all their clothing that was of any value. Scarcely any could be identified as their bodies were blackened by frost and exposure, although there were few signs of decay, the winter having been unusually early and severe.

Major Gano and others supposed one corpse to be that of General Richard Butler, and even entertained little doubt as to his identity. It lay in a group of the slain where evidently had been the thickest of the carnage.

Having dug a large pit, a work of much labor, as they were poorly supplied with spades and other implements, they proceeded to collect and bury the frozen bodies. Probably not more than one half, however, were interred, as they worked at it only on the day of their arrival. They were so numerous, however, that when all piled together and covered with earth, it raised quite a mound. Here, in the silent gloom of the beech woods, reposes many a heart which once beat warm to every impulse of honor and noble feeling which elevates our race. May they rest in peace.

They found that the artillery, with the exception of one six-pounder, had been dismounted and carried off or secreted, and some of the carriages had been burned. After encamping on the ground nearly two days and two nights the party returned to Cincinnati, taking with them the field piece above mentioned, two uninjured gun carriages, the irons of the carriages that were

burnt, and a few muskets. Many of the volunteers were badly frost-bitten on the march. Mr. Reily said the snow was so deep that in moving about it gave them great annoyance by getting in at the top of their leggings.

On the Ohio river, between Columbia and Cincinnati, in those days, scarcely a tree had been cut down on either side of the river between the mouth of Deer creek at Cincinnati and Crawfish below Columbia, a distance of more than four miles. The sand-bar now seen on the Kentucky side, opposite the old Sportsman's Hall, was then a small island with a sufficient depth of water in the channel between it and the Kentucky shore for the passage of boats. The upper and lower parts of the island were bare, but the center, about four acres, was covered with cotton-wood trees, fringed with willows almost to the water's edge. On the north bank of the river, extending about two miles from Columbia, the hills are very steep, when for some distance the ascent becomes more gradual. They were entirely covered with a heavy growth of timber, and from about opposite to the island down to Deer creek, the bank was lined with a thick growth of willows through which in many places it was difficult to penetrate. Between the willows and the water, at ordinary stages, was a broad, stony beach, with here and there a tuft of willows. These willow thickets afforded a secure ambush from which the Indians could watch the

river for unprotected boats. On the bank of the river near the present line of the Little Miami railroad, was a narrow road connecting the two settlements, just wide enough for the passage of a wagon, which, winding around the point of the hill above Deer creek, descended northwardly to the creek, and after crossing ascended in a southern direction the western bank, continued along where Symmes street now is until near the intersection of Lawrence street, where it parted to the right and left of Fort Washington and entered the town.

About a year after Mr. Reily came to Columbia, Colonel Spencer, who commanded a regiment in the revolutionary war, emigrated from New Jersey and settled there with his family, building a house near the fort on the hill. One of his sons, Oliver M. Spencer, a lad of eleven years of age, on the 3rd of July, 1792, went down to Fort Washington with some other members of the family to witness the celebration of the Fourth. He remained at Cincinnati until about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 7th, when he went on board of a canoe lying in front of the fort, in which Jacob Light, Mrs. Mary Coleman, a Mr. Clayton, and a soldier of the garrison were about going to Columbia. The canoe was small and unsteady, hardly fit to carry such a load. When they had proceeded a few rods above the mouth of Deer creek, the soldier, who was much intoxicated, nearly upset the canoe, and finally fell overboard. He reached the shore, however, and sat down on the bank.

Young Spencer, who could not swim, became uneasy at the unsteadiness of the canoe, and at his own request was set on shore. He walked up the beach keeping opposite the canoe and conversing with the party. Mr. Light propelled the boat with a pole, keeping her close in shore. Mr. Clayton sat in the stern with a paddle, which he used sometimes as an oar and sometimes as a rudder. Mrs. Coleman, a woman about fifty years of age, sat in the middle. When they had proceeded about a mile up the river, Mr. Clayton, looking back, discovered the drunken soldier staggering along the shore, and remarked that he would be good bait for Indians. Just then two rifle shots were fired from the willows. Mr. Clayton was struck and fell out of the boat on the shore side. Mr. Light was wounded by a ball, which glanced from his pole, and sprang into the river on the other side. The Indians now rushed to the edge of the water, one of them seized Clayton, who was struggling in the water, dragged him ashore, then tomahawked and scalped him, and held up the scalp in fiendish exultation. The other Indian made a prisoner of Spencer.

Mr. Light, although wounded in the left arm, struck out boldly with his right for the Kentucky shore, and Mrs. Coleman, who preferred being drowned to falling into the hands of the Indians, jumped overboard, and, buoyed up by her clothes, floated down the river. The Indians would have reloaded and fired at them, but

the report of their rifles had brought some persons to the Kentucky shore, and fearing to create further alarm, they decamped in haste with their young prisoner. Mr. Light, seeing them retreat and finding that in his wounded condition he could not cross the river, turned and reached the Ohio shore. He fell from exhaustion as soon as he landed, but soon revived and proceeded to Fort Washington. The most remarkable circumstance connected with the transaction was the manner of Mrs. Coleman's escape. Her underclothing spread out on the surface of the water and prevented her from sinking, while she floated down with the current. At length finding herself nearing the shore, she made use of her hands as paddles and landed just above the mouth of Deer creek, having floated more than a mile. She crossed the creek at the mouth, holding on to the willows which overhung its banks. The water then flowed in a narrow channel that might be cleared by a spring from one bank to the other. Reaching the fort she went to the house of Captain Thorp, at the artificer's yard, with whose lady she was acquainted, obtained a change of clothing, and rested a day or two. Her son, Mr. Jesse Coleman, who formerly lived near Montgomery, Hamilton county, was old enough at the time to have the circumstance well fixed in his memory. He stated that he had often heard his mother speak of this adventure, and she always described it as above, although it has been frequently stated that she floated

four miles, and was taken up opposite Cincinnati. Mrs. Coleman died in 1839 in Versailles, Indiana, at the very advanced age of ninety years.

Oliver M. Spencer, after his capture, was taken to Detroit, where, about a year afterward, he was ransomed and returned to his friends. He subsequently wrote a narrative of his captivity, which was published in 1834. He settled in Cincinnati, became a preacher of the gospel in the Methodist Episcopal church, was cashier of the Miami Exporting Company for many years, and held many other offices of trust and responsibility. He died at Cincinnati on the 31st day of May, 1838.

In 1791, Mr. Reily had purchased a tract of land about seven miles from Cincinnati, in Hamilton county, in the same quarter section on a part of which the town of Carthage has been laid out. In 1793 he gave up his interest in the school at Columbia, to his friend Mr. Dunlevy, and associated himself with a Mr. Prior, who owned land adjoining his, for the purpose of carrying on their improvements jointly, and for the better protection of each other.

Their land being entirely in timber, they spent the first week in making a small clearing and building a rough shanty, and the second in digging a well. They then continued clearing their land. Their horses were stolen by the Indians; but, not discouraged, they procured others, and continued their improvements. After some time, Mr. Prior, in company with two other men,

engaged to make a trip from Fort Washington to Fort Hamilton, with provisions on pack-horses, the usual mode of transportation in those days. On their way they encamped on a branch of Pleasant Run, four miles south of Hamilton, on land afterward owned by the late Aaron L. Schenck. The trace then traveled passed about a quarter of a mile east of the Schenck homestead. In the morning they were attacked by the Indians, and Mr. Prior was killed.

Mr. Reily, left alone, and no doubt finding his experiment at pioneer farming not so pleasant as he anticipated, abandoned his improvements, returned to Columbia, and resumed teaching, which he continued till the following April (1794), when he went to Cincinnati and found employment in the office of General John S. Gano, then clerk of the court of Hamilton county. In this situation he continued till 1799, acting as deputy for General Gano, and conducting a large portion of the business of the office. The neat and systematic manner in which he arranged and preserved the papers relating to the business of the court, was a frequent subject of remark among the attorneys who practiced at the bar of that county.

The ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio, passed July 13th, 1787, provided that as soon as there should be five thousand free male inhabitants, of full age, in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor,

they should receive authority, with time and place, to elect representatives to a general assembly, who, with a council appointed by the president of the United States, should have authority to make laws for the government of the territory. Previous to this, the legislative power was vested in the governor and judges, who had authority to adopt and publish such laws of the original states as best suited the circumstances of the people of the territory.*

In 1798, an enumeration was made, from which it appeared that there were more than the requisite number of free white males in the territory, and they were entitled to enter on the second stage of territorial government. This being certified to the Governor, Arthur St. Clair, he issued a proclamation calling on the people to elect representatives to the first general assembly.

The representatives elected in pursuance of this proclamation, held their first session at Cincinnati, on the 16th of September, 1799. Mr. Reily was elected clerk, in which capacity he served until their adjournment on the 19th of December following. After the close of the first session of the territorial legislature, congress passed a law removing the seat of government from Cincinnati to Chillicothe. Accordingly, on Monday, November 3d, 1800, the members assembled at Chillicothe and commenced their second session. Mr. Reily

* See Appendix O.

was re-elected clerk. They adjourned on the 9th of December. The third and last session of the territorial legislature, being the first of the second term, was held at Chillicothe, November 23d, 1801, in conformity with the proclamation of the governor. Mr. Reily was again elected clerk, and served until their adjournment on January 23d, 1802.

During the time that he held this office, he strictly devoted his whole time and attention to its duties, and acquired the respect and good will of the members; the neat and careful manner in which he kept their journal and performed all his duties, was generally noticed and appreciated.

The town of Cincinnati had a charter granted by the legislature, and approved by the governor, January 1, 1802,* by which the government of the town was invested in a president, recorder, and seven trustees. By section 10 of this act, the following persons were appointed to fill the various offices till the general election could be held, on the first Monday of April: David Zeigler, president; Jacob Burnet, recorder; William Ramsey, David E. Wade, Charles Avery, John Reily, William Stanley, Samuel Dick, and William Ruffen, trustees; Joseph Prince, assessor; Abraham Cary, collector, and James Smith, town marshal.

* Laws of Northwest Territory, Vol. III, p. 194.

At the first election Mr. Reily was elected clerk and collector.

On the 13th of February, 1802, a number of citizens of Cincinnati met at Yeatman's tavern, for the purpose of promoting the establishment of a public library in the town.* The subscription bears date the 15th of that month, and the company went into operation on the 6th of March. There were twenty-five subscribers, and thirty-four shares of the stock. John Reily took one share. At the time of Mr. Reily's decease, Jacob Burnet was the only member of that association left. He is since deceased, so that none of these pioneers in the cause of literature are now living.

The congress of the United States passed "An act giving a right of pre-emption to certain persons who had contracted with John Cleves Symmes, or his associates, for land lying between the Miami rivers, in the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio," which was approved March 3d, 1801.† This law enacted that any person who, before the 1st of January, 1800, had contracted in writing with John Cleves Symmes, or any of his associates, or made payment to them of money for the purchase of any land between the Miami rivers, within the limits of a certain survey which had previously been made by Israel Ludlow, and not within the tract for which Symmes had received his

*See Appendix P. † Laws of the United States, Vol. V, p. 281.

patent, should be entitled to a preference in becoming purchasers from the United States at the price of two dollars per acre. The president was required to appoint two persons, who, with the receiver of public moneys at Cincinnati, were to form a commission to hear and determine all such claims. President Jefferson appointed John Reily and William Goforth. Mr. Reily acted as clerk of this board, made a map of the country where the claims lay, prepared the report on the claims adjudicated, and entered those allowed on the map and the record.

On the 1st of May, 1802,* another act was passed extending the provisions of the former act another year. Mr. Reily and Doctor John Sellman were appointed commissioners under this act—James Findlay, the receiver of public moneys, being the other member, by virtue of his office.

In 1802, the congress of the United States passed "An act to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory north-west of the river Ohio, to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and for other purposes," which was approved 30th of April.† The law fixed the boundaries of the state, and authorized the citizens

* Laws of the United States, Vol. VI, p. 139.

† Laws of the United States, Vol. VI, p. 120.

within its limits to elect representatives to a convention to form a constitution. The election was held on the second Tuesday of October following, in accordance with the statute, and the convention met at Chillicothe on the first Monday of November. Mr. Reily was elected one of the representatives of Hamilton county, and though he did not take much part in the debates, yet his industry and strict attention to business, and the confidence placed by his fellow members, in his judgment and experience, gave him a very perceptible influence in the convention. The convention continued in session twenty-nine days, adjourning on the 29th of November, having formed the first constitution of the state, which met with the approbation of the people, and under which they lived and prospered till 1851, when the new constitution was adopted.

Mr. Reily moved to Hamilton in 1803, and resided there until the time of his death. The appearance of Hamilton was then far different from what it is at present. The fort had been dismantled and abandoned but a few years previously. Many of the pickets which formed its enclosure were still standing, and when they had been broken off or taken up, the outline of the fort could easily be traced. A few of the buildings of the garrison yet remained standing.

The fort was opposite the place where the bridge over the Miami river has since been built, extending from Hydraulic street to the site of the United Pres-

byterian church, and from the river as far east as the ground on which the Universalist church is built. The ground east of the fort extending as far as Second street, including the public square and High street, had been occupied as a burying-ground for the garrison, and numerous rude grave-stones and graves were dotted over the surface. A natural terrace, eight or ten feet high, ran along the west side of Front street, separating the upper from the lower plane. When this bank was excavated in grading High street, several skeletons were taken up entire, and many human bones disinterred, which were all removed and buried. Many more, doubtless, lie in this space. As late as 1812 a paling enclosing a single grave stood in the middle of High street opposite Hamilton Hotel, but was removed that year.

The upper part of the town, north of Dayton street, was a beautiful natural prairie, and all the rest of the ground from near Front street to where the canal now is (except the partially-cleared grave-yard), was covered with a growth of scrub-oaks and black-jacks, with an almost impenetrable undergrowth of hazel bushes and wild vines.

The town of Hamilton was laid out by Israel Ludlow on the 17th of December, 1794. It was first called Fairfield, but the name Hamilton, previously given to the fort, was afterward adopted. The space between Hydraulic street and Basin street and between Front

street and the Miami river was not laid out into lots till 1817.

The inhabitants of Hamilton, when Mr. Reily went there, were few in number, and composed chiefly of soldiers and other persons who had been attached to Wayne's army, and had remained there when that army was disbanded at the close of the campaign. These persons lacking energy and enterprise, spoiled for pioneer work, by military camp life, and in many cases dissipated and immoral, were not the class of citizens best calculated to promote the rapid improvement of the place.

Few houses had been erected. A two-story frame house stood near where the west end of the recently-removed market-house was. It was the old home erected by General Wilkinson for the accommodation of the officers of his army. In this house William McClellan kept a tavern. Above it, extending from near the river to the east line of the pickets, was a row of stables built of round hickory logs with the bark peeled off which were originally used for the horses of the officers and the cavalry, and afterward as stables for the tavern. The artificers' shops stood further to the north, near where the hydraulic race now is. The magazine stood in the south angle of the garrison, and some other dilapidated buildings were in and around the locality of the fort. There was a well of excellent water, which is still in use, a few feet west of the buildings erected by Mr.

John W. Sohn, over which there was then a large wheel for drawing water.

John Torrence kept a tavern at the corner of Dayton and Water streets, in the home now owned and formerly occupied by Henry S. Earhart. Mr. Torrence died in 1807, but his widow continued the business—even for years after she became the wife of John Wingate. She was the daughter of Captain Robert Benham, whose adventures are frequently mentioned in the early history of the county, and a sister of Joseph S. Benham, formerly a prominent lawyer of Hamilton.* On the lot opposite, on the north side of the street, was a log-house which, built by Darius C. Orcut, and then occupied as a boarding-house by Mrs. Griffin, a sister of the late Abner Enoch. It is a portion of the house in which William Murray afterward kept a tavern. It stood until 1854, when it was pulled down to accommodate the works of the Hydraulic Company.

Isaac Stanley afterward kept a tavern with the sign of a Black Horse, on Front street, in an old log-house, in the upper part of the town. When he was elected

*Previous to 1824, Mr. Benham removed from Hamilton to Cincinnati, where he continued the practice of his profession. He was the United States Attorney for the Southern District of Ohio. On the occasion of the visit of General the Marquis de Lafayette to Ohio in 1825, Mr. Benham made the reception speech on behalf of the city authorities.

justice of the peace, he kept his office in the bar-room, and there dispensed justice and whisky for several years.

John Sutherland kept a store in a house on the east side of Front street, between Dayton and Hydraulic streets, and carried on an extensive trade with the Indians. In the upper part of the town were several cabins in which lived James Heaton, Isaac Wiles, George Harlan, William Herbert, and George Snyder. John Wingate commenced a store in a log-house where the Irish Roman Catholic church now stands, where he failed in 1806. Thomas and Joseph Hough continued the business, and after the death of the former it was successfully occupied by Hough and Blair, and Kelsey and Smith, for the same purpose. Nearly opposite, on the south side of the street, lived Thomas McCullough and Doctor Jacob Lewis. In the south part of the town resided John Greene, Azarias Thorn, Barney McCarron, Benjamin Davis, Ludlow Pierson, and perhaps others not now recollected.

On the west bank of the Miami river was a solitary log-house, occupied by Archibald Talbert, who kept a tavern and the ferry.* The town of Rossville† was

*This house is still standing at the end of the Suspension Bridge, and immediately opposite the Straub House, on Main street, in the first ward of the city of Hamilton.

†What was formerly the separate town of Rossville has for many years constituted the first ward of the city of Hamilton.

not then in existence. It was surveyed and laid out by Mr. Reily in 1804, for the proprietors, for whom he afterward acted as agent for the sale of lots, payment of taxes, and other business.

The first legislature of Ohio, elected under the new constitution, commenced its first session at Chillicothe on Tuesday, the 1st of March, 1803, and on the 24th day of that month, passed "An act for the division of the counties of Hamilton and Ross." By this act the county of Butler was established, and, until a permanent seat of justice could be erected, the courts were directed to be held at the house of John Torrence in the town of Hamilton, and there, on the 10th of May, 1803, the associate judges of the court of common pleas, who had been appointed for Butler county, met for the purpose of organizing the county. They were James Dunn, John Greer, and John Kitchell. They appointed John Reily their clerk, divided the county into five townships, and ordered an election to be held in each, on the 1st day of June following, for sheriff and coroner, to serve until the general election in October. On that day the associate judges commenced their second session, John Reily still acting as clerk. As the result of the election, James Blackburn was chosen sheriff, and Samuel Dillon coroner.

The first regular term for the court of common pleas for Butler county began on Tuesday, 12th of July, 1803, at the John Torrence tavern. The court

was composed of Francis Dunlvey, presiding judge, the above-mentioned associate judges, Daniel Symmes prosecuting attorney, James Blackburn sheriff, which office he held until the election in October, when William McClellan was chosen. At this court Mr. Reily was appointed clerk, and he held the office under successive reappointments until the 14th day of March, 1840, a period of nearly thirty-seven years, when he declined reappointment.

The first term of the Supreme Court of Butler county was opened on the 11th of October, 1803, and was composed of Judges Samuel Huntingdon and William Sprigg, Arthur St. Clair, Jr., prosecuting attorney, William McClellan sheriff. Mr. Reily was appointed clerk of this court also, and retained the office until the 3rd of May, 1842, when he resigned. From that time he spent the remainder of his days in tranquil retirement, having held the office of clerk of the court for a longer period than any other person in the state, with the exception of Mr. Hugh Boyle, of Fairfield county.

When Mr. Reily was appointed clerk, he engaged for his office a small log building about twenty feet by eighteen, which had been used as a store-house or sutler's shop by some trader connected with the garrison. It stood south of where the fort had been, outside of the pickets, a few rods south of the present United Presbyterian church. It was two stories high, with a porch fronting on the alley. The lower room he occu-

pied as an office, the upper as a lodging apartment. The building has since been altered and reduced to one story. In this building the offices of the clerk of the court of common pleas and supreme court, the commissioners' office, the recorder's office, and the post office were held, from the time of the organization of the county until 1809; and here, in court time, when court was not in session, and in the evenings, assembled the judges, the lawyers, and the *elite* of the country, to spend their leisure hours and engage themselves with entertaining conversation.

In 1809, Mr. Reily removed his office to the south room of his just-completed residence,* east of the public square, where it remained till 1824, when the present court-house buildings were completed.

From 1803, when the seat of justice was established at Hamilton, till 1810, the courts were held in one of the old buildings of the fort, which had been used as a store-room or a mess-room. It stood on what is now the center of High street, just where it bends a little to the north to join the suspension bridge. It was a frame building about forty feet long by twenty wide, one story high, roughly weatherboarded, without filling-in or plastering, and set on wooden blocks about three feet high—thus affording an admirable shelter for the

* Previous to, and ever since, the death of Mr. Reily, this house has been the home of the Hon. Lewis D. Campbell, his son-in-law.

hogs and sheep of the village. The judge's seat was a rough platform of unplaned boards erected at the north end of the room. A long table, like a carpenter's work bench, was placed in front of the platform, and around this the lawyers were seated on benches made of slabs. The remaining space was occupied by the suitors, witnesses, and spectators.*

The old building, which had been the magazine of the fort, was used as a jail. It stood, as stated, in the south angle of the fort, about where the United Presbyterian church now is. It was about fifteen feet square, constructed of heavy logs, hewed square and laid close together, with a floor and ceiling of logs, hewed and laid in the same manner. A hipped roof came to a point in the center, where it was surmounted by a round ball of wood. The door was of heavy two-inch oak plank, and driven full of iron spikes and nails, with a hole in the center, in the shape of a half moon, for the admission of light, air, and food for the occupants. It was fastened with an iron hasp and padlock on the outside. Standing isolated, it was, of course, very insecure, and escapes were almost as frequent as commitments.

The only lawyer residing at Hamilton at that time was William Corry, whose office was in the same room in which Mr. Reily kept his various offices. Several other lawyers, however, regularly attended the courts at Hamilton, among whom were Jacob Burnet,

Arthur St. Clair, Jr., Ethan Stone, Nicholas Longworth, George P. Torrence, and Elias Glover, from Cincinnati, and some time later, Joshua Collett and John McLean (afterward Chief Justice of the United States), of Lebanon, and later still, Thomas Freeman and Thomas R. Ross, also from Lebanon. The bar was a very able one, and important cases were advocated in an elaborate and masterly manner.

At the time of the establishment of the seat of justice at Hamilton in 1803, the county was destitute of funds, no taxes having, as yet, been levied or collected. The necessity for a more suitable place to accommodate the sittings of the courts, and a more secure place for the confinement of prisoners, was so apparent as to induce the citizens of the county to make an effort to raise funds for the erection of suitable buildings by voluntary subscriptions. A paper was drawn up by Mr. Reily, and was numerously signed to the amount of fifteen hundred dollars. Subscriptions were received in "money, whisky, grain, stone, lime, brick, timber, mechanical work, labor, and hauling." In October, 1804, the commissioners appointed Benjamin F. Randolph and Celadon Symmes to collect the subscriptions, but it was slow work, many of them remaining unpaid as late as 1815.

On the 30th of September, 1805, Ezekiel Ball, Matthew Richardson, and Solomon Line, commissioners of the county, contracted with John Torrence and

John Wingate to furnish materials and build a jail on the south side of the public square. It was to be of stone, thirty-three by twenty feet in size, two stories high, and to be completed by the 1st of September, 1806, for the sum of sixteen hundred dollars. They fulfilled their contract, but the furnishing and completing the interior of the building for the reception of prisoners was not accomplished until December, 1808. In February, 1807, the commissioners contracted with William Squier, for the sum of sixteen hundred dollars, to erect a building adjoining the jail, uniform with it in size, material, and appearance, for the accommodation of the jailor and his family. It was to have been completed in December, 1807, but he failed in his contract, and it was not finished till early in 1810. A large room in the upper story of this building was used as a court-room until 1817, when the present court-house was completed. The stone used in these buildings was mostly taken from the bed of the Miami river; and being small in size and inferior in quality, the jail never was a secure one, many a prisoner working his way out of it at the expense of the county.

The present jail was built by Alexander P. Miller, to whom the contract was awarded on the 4th of March, 1846. It cost eight thousand five hundred and eighty-one dollars, and was finished and accepted on the 9th of August, 1848. The old jail was sold at public auction on the 15th of July to Robert E. Duffield for one

hundred and ninety-four dollars, by whom it was pulled down and removed.

Mr. Reily was appointed the first recorder of Butler county in 1803, and held the office until May, 1811, when he was succeeded by James Heaton, who had been the first county surveyor, and served many years as a justice of the peace at Hamilton. He afterward removed to Lemon township, where he was elected justice of the peace. He also served a number of years as a member of the house of representatives and of the senate of Ohio.

Mr. Riley held the office of clerk of the board of county commissioners from 1803 to 1819, when he resigned. His sterling qualities and thorough practical knowledge of the routine of the office, gave him a great influence with the successive boards. In fact, during the time he held the office, he had the chief management and control of the finances of the county, and conducted them with great prudence. Economy was *then* the order of the day, and Mr. Reily watched over the financial affairs of the county with such wisdom and success, that at no time were county orders at a discount; nor did it become necessary to contract an onerous debt or subject the people to unreasonable taxes. He was, in fact, as he was often called, the guardian of the people of Butler county.

In 1804, under the administration of Thomas Jefferson, a post-office was established at Hamilton, and

Mr. Reily was appointed first postmaster. His commission was signed by Gideon Granger, postmaster-general, and bears date August 2d, 1804. There was at that time, and for many years afterward, only one mail route established through the interior of the Miami country. The mail was carried on horseback, once a week. Leaving Cincinnati, it passed through Hamilton, Franklin, Dayton, and as far north as Stanton (a town on the east bank of the Miami opposite the site of the present town of Troy), thence through Urbana, Yellow Springs, and Lebanon back to Cincinnati. Afterward it was reversed, starting by way of Lebanon and returning by Hamilton, but touching at the same points. There was then no post-office west of the Miami river. Mr. Reily held this office until July, 1832, when he resigned. He was succeeded by James B. Thomas, who held the office till 1851.

In February, 1809, an act was passed in the legislature of Ohio, establishing the Miami university. Mr. Reily was appointed one of the trustees, and was president of the board most of the time until the organization of the college in 1824, when, by law, the president of the college became also president *ex officio* of the board of trustees. Mr. Reily was ever a warm friend of the institution, attending punctually the meetings of the board, and doing every thing in his power to promote its interest and advancement. He resigned in 1840, on account of advanced age,

and the inconvenience of being so often absent from home.

Mr. Reily, during his public life, had charge of the interests of a great many non-resident owners of land in the Miami country, paying their taxes, making sales, leasing land and having a general oversight of them.

Although Mr. Reily was possessed of feelings of the most delicate and sensitive nature, he indulged in no extravagant flights of fancy or new-fangled notions or schemes. The leading characteristics of his mind were good common sense and a judgment almost unerring in its decisions in relation to any matter brought before him. In all the important offices and trusts which he was called upon to fill, during his long and useful life, he faithfully discharged the duties they required. He did not look on them as mere sources of profit to himself, but considered them personal trusts conferred for the public good, and requiring at his hands a punctual and thorough performance of the duties they enjoined. He was uniformly at his post, early and late. He was well aware of the importance of system and proper arrangement in conducting the business of an office, and reduced his theory to practice with a degree of success which was at once apparent to all who had business transactions with him, or were in the habit of visiting his office. His books and dockets were kept in the most careful manner, and all his papers neatly endorsed and filed with the utmost regularity and order. No

paper or entry on his books could be inquired for (although the transaction to which it referred might have taken place more than thirty years before), but he could at once turn to it and give the information required.

During his whole life, in all the multifarious business which he transacted, no one could ever justly charge him with malpractice or neglect in the discharge of the duties of his office. His veracity and integrity were never called in question; they were proverbial, and the universal opinion was, that in all his dealings it was his aim to do justice, and in all cases of doubt or dispute to render more than he believed to be due, lest he should ignorantly render less.

In the private walks of life, as well as in his official capacity, he afforded an example worthy of imitation. He always acted under the influence of a high moral principle. Against his personal character, nothing could be whispered—it was free from reproach. There was no guile in his heart, no deceit on his lips. In all his engagements he was punctual, strictly honest, and liberal. In his friendships, he was ardent and almost unchangeable. He was plain and unostentatious in his manners and deportment; always neat and exact in his dress. He was seldom met with in convivial company; but in the social circle of his friends, he was uniformly cheerful and occasionally animated. To appreciate his character justly, it was only necessary

to know him, and no one could be intimately acquainted with him without recognizing his moral qualities and the goodness of his heart.

Mr. Reily was educated in the Presbyterian faith, and although he never made a public profession of religion, he regularly attended public worship and contributed liberally to its support. When the Presbyterians were about building a church in Hamilton, he made them a donation of a lot, and contributed liberally toward the erection of the building. On all proper occasions he advocated the importance of religion, and defended the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures.

Notwithstanding the severe trials upon his constitution, in early life, he generally enjoyed a state of uninterrupted good health, until the time of his death. This took place at Hamilton at three o'clock on the morning of Friday the 7th of June, 1850, at the age of eighty-seven years.

The court of common pleas was then in session, and at the opening of the court in the morning, William Bebb, late governor of Ohio, rose and announced the decease of Mr. Reily, and in a feeling manner paid a handsome tribute to his memory, recapitulating the leading features of his eventful life. The court then appointed a committee of the Bar to take suitable action in the case. At four o'clock in the afternoon, the committee made its report to the court, accompanied by a short biographical sketch of his life and prominent

services, which were ordered to be entered at length on their journal. The court then adjourned till the Monday following.

On Sunday, the 9th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the remains were conveyed from his residence to the Presbyterian church, where an appropriate discourse was delivered by Rev. William Davidson of the United Presbyterian church; after which, the body was carried to its last resting place, in Greenwood Cemetery, followed by a larger concourse of friends and citizens than had ever been convened in Hamilton on a similar occasion. The great number of venerable white-haired men, who had been the early companions of the old pioneer, who had come from all parts of the country to pay the last tribute of respect to their friend, gave additional interest to the solemnities. It was not a scene of mere empty parade, but the spontaneous tribute of neighbors and friends to the memory of a beloved and respected fellow citizen. All seemed to feel that an upright, honest, and good man had fallen—gone to his last rest full of years and honors.

The constitutional convention was at that time in session at Columbus. On Tuesday, June 11th, Judge Elijah Vance, a member of the convention from Butler county, arose and said:

"MR. SPEAKER: I have been induced, sir, by a letter which has been placed in my hands by an honorable member of this convention, to announce to this body the decease of Mr. John

Reily, late of Butler county. It is known, perhaps, to every member upon this floor, that the deceased was one of the members of the convention which framed the present constitution of Ohio, and that he had been for many years a citizen of the northwest territory of the State of Ohio."

After giving a detailed sketch of the life and public services of Mr. Reily, the Judge continued:

"He was a man of many peculiarities, but of the most strict and uncompromising integrity. In every department of life he was faithful and scrupulously honest. It is an incident worthy of profound contemplation, that at the very period of time in which our people are seeking to enlarge the sphere of constitutional liberty—while they are about to bid farewell to the constitution under which they have lived and prospered for near fifty years, and to seek enlarged blessings under a new form—the mind that so largely aided in diffusing these blessings under the guarantee afforded by organic law, has been remodeled, regenerated, and prepared for usefulness in a wider and better sphere of existence.

"Mr. Speaker: I offer for adoption the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That this convention has heard with deep sensibility the annunciation of the death of John Reily, Esquire, late of the county of Butler, a soldier of the Revolution, one of the early pioneers of the West, one who filled important trusts under the territorial government, and one of the framers of the present constitution of Ohio.

"*Resolved*, That this convention deeply sympathize with the family of the deceased on this melancholy occasion.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the president and secretary of this convention, be forwarded to the family of the deceased."

Judge George J. Smith, a member of the convention from Warren county, then rose and said:

"MR. PRESIDENT: I hope I may be pardoned for rising to make a few remarks by way of seconding the resolutions offered by the honorable member from Butler. I live in an adjoining county to that in which the deceased resided, and have been intimately acquainted with him for a period of some thirty years. I first became acquainted with Mr. Reily about the year 1821, just after I had commenced the practice of law, and was uniformly in the habit of attending the courts of Butler county, in the practice of my profession, whilst he was clerk of the court of common pleas, and of the supreme court of that county. I know that I speak the sentiments of every member of the profession, who had the good fortune and the pleasure of practising in the court of common pleas of Butler county, during the time he was clerk of the court, when I bear witness to the urbanity of his demeanor, and the politeness and courtesy which he always bestowed upon every member, and especially upon the younger members of the profession. Toward the latter, his deportment was peculiarly kind and paternal.

In some respects Mr. Reily was a most extraordinary man; and, as the gentleman from Butler has well remarked, in the qualities of punctuality and honesty and the most strict and marked integrity, I do not think he had his superior any where. During the whole period of my service on the bench of the court of common pleas, he was clerk of the court, which brought us into official relation. During more than thirty years that he served as clerk of the court, he discharged his duties with the strictest fidelity and utmost punctuality. Indeed, as a clerk, he was a model. As an instance of his rigid punctuality, he never, knowingly, permitted any large amount of fees to accumulate in his office, without paying them over to those who were entitled to receive them. This was a rule with Mr. Reily, which, in my opinion, made him an exception to any other gentleman I have

known who filled that office. He did not usually wait until the witnesses, or other persons having money collected in his office, would call for it, but would seek opportunities of searching for the claimant, and sending it to him as soon as collected. I mention this as an instance of his scrupulous honesty.

I have heard it remarked by some of the older citizens of Butler, who, from an early day, have been familiar with the fiscal concerns of that county, that to Mr. Reily more than to any other man, was to be attributed the correct and prudent manner in which the fiscal concerns of that county were always managed during the period in which Mr. Reily, to a very considerable extent, had their oversight and management. Such was the care and attention which he bestowed in the discharge of the duties of every office he was called to fill, that no one ever complained of his neglecting or omitting his official duties.

I had the pleasure of an interview with Mr. Reily in the month of March last, at his own residence. I have been uniformly in the habit, since from the infirmities of age he has been almost wholly confined to his house, of calling on him on all proper occasions, when visiting the town in which he resided. The interview to which I refer, was after the passage of the law of the last session of the general assembly which has called this assembly together. Mr. Reily was, emphatically, a gentleman of the old school. He had his principles and opinions, and was firm in the maintenance of them; at the same time paying due respect and regard to the opinions of others. On the occasion referred to, he spoke of his revolutionary services, and of the proceedings of the convention of 1802. He looked forward with deep interest to the proceedings of this convention, and remarked to me that although he felt the inconveniences and defects of the present constitution, still he looked forward with some forebodings as to what might be the result of the deliberations of this convention. At the same time that he acknowledged the defects in the existing constitution, he was apprehensive that, amidst the turmoil and excitement of con-

tending parties, the public good might be sacrificed to party feeling, and the organic law of the state despoiled of some of its essential provisions. Mr. Reily, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, was not a partisan. He never obtruded his opinions upon any one. When he formed opinions, he maintained them on all proper occasions with becoming firmness and commendable modesty.

"If I am not mistaken, he was originally attached to the federal party. My impression is (though in this I may be in error), that at one period he supported the claims of General Jackson for the presidency. It is proper, also, to remark that in his latter years he was attached to the whig party. But no one ever heard him condemn any man, or set of men, for entertaining and expressing political opinions different from his own. He was perfectly tolerant and gentlemanly in his deportment toward every person with whom he came in contact, amiable and courteous in his manners and in all his social relations. Full of years —honored and respected by all who knew him—he has gone from among us. But his memory will live after him, highly esteemed as he was when living, and revered when dead. Respectable for his intelligence and official qualifications—permit me, Mr. President, to say, that in my estimation the crowning glory of his life, was his spotless purity, his scrupulous honesty, and his unsullied integrity. He lived and died an humble, pious christian."

Mr. Edward Archbold, a member of the convention from Monroe county, rose and said, that though an entire stranger to the deceased, he joined heartily in the honorable testimonials which had been offered by the gentlemen from Butler and Warren. He had learned that there were but four or five members of the convention which framed the present constitution of Ohio,

now living, and that from the time he was returned a delegate to this convention till he came up to this place, he had indulged the idea of obtaining the services of some one of these time-honored survivors to preside during the preliminary organization, and perform those duties which were so ably discharged by his friend the senior member from the county of Wayne (Mr. Larwell). He had thought that while such a thing would constitute an appropriate expression of respect for those honored and honorable representatives of the past, it might also reflect a very wholesome influence upon the convention itself.

The resolutions presented by Judge Vance were then unanimously passed.

Mr. John Larwell then moved that as a further testimonial of respect for the memory of the deceased, the convention now adjourn, which was carried.

A copy of the resolutions was forwarded to the family of the deceased, accompanied by the following note:

"CONVENTION CHAMBER,
Columbus, June 11, 1850.

"MADAM: Inclosed I have the honor to forward to you, as one of the family and immediate representatives of the late John Reily, Esquire, a copy of a series of resolutions which was this day adopted by the convention now in session, 'to revise, amend or change the constitution' of Ohio, in relation to the decease of that patriotic and distinguished individual.

This expression on the part of this body, was eminently due

to the memory and virtues of one who participated in many of the most important conflicts that resulted in the establishment of our national independence—who aided in forming the present constitution of our State, and whose whole life appears to have been devoted to the honor of his country and the best interest of society.

Very respectfully
Your obedient servant,
W. MEDILL, *President.*

MRS. JANE H. CAMPBELL,
Hamilton, Ohio."

On the 6th day of February, 1808, Mr. Reily married Miss Nancy Hunter, a daughter of Joseph Hunter, Esq., a respectable farmer residing in the vicinity of Hamilton. The fruits of this marriage were three sons and two daughters.

Joseph H. Riley, the oldest son, born November 8th, 1809, received a liberal education at Miami university. He subsequently devoted his attention to the study of the fine arts, for which his taste and talents seemed to have a peculiar prediliction. Many of his portraits and landscape paintings are yet in the possession of amateurs in the county, and are highly prized. He died at Hamilton, in the same room in which he was born, on the 20th day of March, 1849, in the fortieth year of his age.

James Reily, the second son, born July 3, 1811, graduated at Miami university September, 1829. He then studied law under the direction of Hon. John

Woods, of Hamilton, and was licensed to practice as an attorney and counselor-at-law by the supreme court of Ohio about 1832. He embarked in his profession in Mississippi, but subsequently removed to Texas, then a separate republic, from which government he was sent as minister plenipotentiary to the United States. He is now a citizen of Texas, where, by the practice of his profession, and speculating in land, he has acquired a handsome fortune.

Robert Reily, the youngest son, born June 1, 1820, became a merchant in Cincinnati, where, by his industry and attention to business, he acquired a competent fortune, which he now enjoys, residing in the vicinity of that city.*

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* When the rebellion of 1861–'65 began, Robert Reily had retired from business, and was living at Wyoming, near Lockland, Hamilton county, in the enjoyment of a home life such as few men can conceive and fewer still deserve. When the need came, however, he rose up straightway and turned his back upon all that made his beautiful home most difficult to leave. In connection with Colonel (afterward General) N. C. McLean, he recruited the 75th Ohio Infantry, and at its organization in December, 1861, was commissioned as its major. A month later the regiment was sent into Western Virginia. After months of hard campaigning, Major Reily fought his first battle on the 12th of April, 1862, at Monterey Court House, on the march from Cheat Mountain toward Staunton. On the 8th of May, the brigade, of which his regiment was part, was confronted by Stonewall Jackson with an army of nearly twenty thousand men. Even against this force

Caroline Reily, born March 27, 1813, died on the 22d of September, 1816.

The other daughter, Jane H. Reily, born October 9, 1815, still survives. She married Lewis D. Campbell, and resides at Hamilton. Mr. Campbell is a native of Warren county. He had been brought up to the occupation of a printer, and became editor and publisher of the "Hamilton Intelligencer," a newspaper pub-

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General Milroy, its commander, assumed the offensive, and led two of his three regiments (the 75th and 25th Ohio) against the enemy. In this unusually severe battle the 75th lost ninety killed and wounded. There, as before, the soldierly bearing and ability of Major Reily gained for him the admiration and thorough confidence of both superiors and subordinates. August 8, 1862, he participated in the battle of Cedar Mountain. After months of arduous campaigning came the terrible battle between Pope and Stonewall Jackson at Graveton, near the Bull Run field, August 28–30. On the 30th the 75th bore the whole weight of the attack of Longstreet's corps, and lost heavily in officers and men—the colors receiving over ninety shots.

In December, 1862, Major Reily succeeded to the lieutenant-colonelcy, and in January, 1863, he was made colonel of the regiment. On the 30th of April, the 75th, as part of the 11th corps, took position on the extreme right of the army of the Potomac, at Chancellorsville. "The 11th corps, surprised and overwhelmed by the impetuous rebels, fell back in almost complete demoralization. Yet McLean's Ohio brigade merited the highest praise for the bravery of its officers and men, and the cool and steady manner in which it received the enemy under the most trying circumstances. Owing to the peculiar formation of the line, and nature of the ground at this

lished at Hamilton, which he conducted for several years. He studied law in the mean time, and was admitted to the bar by the supreme court at Wooster, Wayne county, in the summer of 1835, after which he devoted his time and attention to the practice of his profession. In 1848, he was elected member of congress from the district composed of the counties of Butler, Warren, and Clinton. In 1850, he was elected to the same office from the district composed of the counties of Butler, Montgomery, and Preble, and in 1852 and 1854 re-elected from the same district.

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point of attack, but few troops could open on the enemy at a time. The 75th changed front under this severe fire, and received the enemy in the most gallant manner."—*Reid's Ohio in the War.* In vain were this courage and coolness, however. The battle was all in favor of the rebels, and the brigade fell back. In a half hour the 75th lost one hundred and fifty killed and wounded.

And near the close of this terrible day's struggle fell, mortally wounded, the man to whom, more than to any other, belongs the credit of the fine discipline, conduct, and efficiency of the regiment—Colonel Reily. He died of this wound on May 5th, 1863.

It is the lot of few men to be so loved whilst living, so lamented when they die. In business, in private life, in the field, he manifested qualities remarkable in themselves, and yet more remarkable in their beautiful blending into a character strong, chivalrous, pure, earnest, loving, and dutiful. His principles were staunch, his aims noble, his tastes elevated, his attachments strong and tender, his words sincere—his life most pure and his memory cherished with a reverence and a tenderness that not the barely righteous, and but few of the truly good, call forth from them that knew them best. M.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A.

*Judge Jacob Burnet's Letter.**

Cincinnati, June 1, 1843.

JAMES McBRIDE, ESQ.

Dear Sir: I have read your MS. sketches of our old friend, Mr. Reily, with pleasure.

As he was one of the first of the Western pioneers, his name and his agency in conquering the country from the Indians ought to be preserved and handed down to the future historian. I was not one of the little band of adventurers who with him commenced the occupancy of the Miami valley, in 1788, though I soon followed and became one of their number, before much progress had been made in settling and improving the country.

A person who has traveled through the eastern division of the northwestern territory, composing the State of Ohio, for the first time, at any period within the last forty-five years, can not form an adequate idea of its condition and appearance when Mr. Reily

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*A revised copy of this letter, with some additional matter of no special interest, was published, at the request of Judge Burnet, in the *Cincinnati Gazette* of October 28, 1843. We have preferred to print the letter from the original, which is among the McBride papers.

selected it as his permanent home. Then it wore the rich, beautiful garb which nature had given it, not disturbed nor marred by the hand of art.

The great fertility of its soil was discovered in the exuberance and variety of its productions. Its forests and natural meadows abounded with game of the finest variety. Its only inhabitants were the aborigines, whose ancestors owned and had occupied it during a long succession of ages. They had learned from tradition that the country was theirs, and that the white man was an intruder. Nor did they doubt for a moment their ability to defend it. Hence their intercourse with the pioneers was, in the first instance, of a friendly character. They had not then become contaminated by the vice and crimes of the whites, for the reason that their intercourse with them was but just commencing. At that period of their history they were comparatively a moral people. If they professed friendship they were faithful and kind; but if otherwise, they were ferocious and cruel.

When the first efforts were making to settle the country, it was not a difficult matter to win their confidence; and that point being gained, the pioneers felt themselves safe. This security, however, continued but for a short time. The British government, which was then withholding from the United States the forts of Mackinac, Detroit, and Maumee in violation of the treaty of 1783, saw the efforts the Americans were making to settle and improve the northwestern territory. They were alarmed at the power and influence which the American government would obtain over the Indians by carrying out that plan, and they saw, as a matter of course, that it would soon compel them to relinquish the posts and retire within their own territory. Hence they determined, if practicable, to defeat it.

The most effectual way of accomplishing that object was to poison the minds of the Indians by misrepresentation and falsehood. They told them that the people of the United States were their natural enemies; that they were preparing to seize their lands and drive them beyond the lakes, and in such an emergency that their only chance for safety was to crush the project at its very commencement.

These appeals produced the desired effect, and the consequence was that when the pioneers were just beginning to gain the confidence and friendship of the natives, their progress was suddenly checked by manifestations of hostility at every point where settlements had been commenced. Thus were their hopes dashed, and in place of the friendship they were beginning to anticipate, they were admonished that they had to encounter a deadly foe in every savage they might meet. This being the fact, the great disparity of numbers between the little handful of white adventurers who first crossed the Ohio and the hordes of savages who then occupied the forests into which they penetrated, would lead to the conclusion that the former must have been overwhelmed without even the possibility of a retreat. Such, however, was not the fact. Though in jeopardy every hour, and expecting to meet an enemy at every step, their courage did not desert them, nor did they harbor a thought of abandoning their purpose. Being hourly in danger, and always prepared to meet it, habit soon made their condition familiar, and robbed fear of its distress.

This concise sketch may be taken as an epitome of the life of a pioneer from the first attempt to settle the territory in 1788 till the treaty of General Wayne in 1795.

As our friend, Mr. Reily, was actively engaged in all these

struggles and dangers from their very commencement until their close, he comprehends them well; but no person can form a just conception of the privations and dangers of a pioneer who has not himself been one.

If my memory be correct, the battle of the Eutaw Springs was the last in which Mr. Reily was engaged, in the Revolutionary war. That brilliant affair occurred near the close of the struggle, and so crippled the enemy in that quarter as to deter him from any further effort. The severe campaigns of General Greene in the south have often furnished interesting topics of conversation between Mr. Reily and myself, from the fact that he knew my brother, who was one of the general's aids, actively engaged in the same conflicts in which he (Mr. Reily) distinguished himself. Intimacies and friendships formed under such circumstances are usually the most durable. They are most frequently adverted to in after life, and the recollections they call up are generally of an interesting character.

Everybody who knows Mr. Reily personally must have remarked the diffidence with which he refers to himself, and with what reluctance he speaks of any of the transactions of his life, especially of those which were attended with personal danger and privation or were productive of beneficial results to the community or to individuals.

It has been often remarked that when his attention has been called by a question or otherwise to any interesting transaction in his life, for the purpose of eliciting information, he has manifested the most sensible embarrassment, resulting from an unwillingness to become the herald of his own fame. Hence it is, in part, that his friends have not learned more of the interesting incidents of his long and useful life.

The biographical sketches of him given in your MS., though concisely stated, are sufficient to place his name with the names of those who, in all time to come, ought to be remembered as patriots and devoted friends of their country. Services like his, which commenced in the most gloomy period of the Revolution, while he was yet a minor, and which were performed in a quarter of the country where the army was exposed to incessant toil and suffering, in an unhealthy climate, can not be valued too highly or recalled to memory too frequently.

It is now but very seldom that we meet with persons who were agents in the transactions of the great struggle which made our country independent. The mass of them, probably ninety-nine in a hundred, have been gathered to their fathers, and the few who remain, with here and there an exception, are compelled by the debility of age to withdraw from active life. There are, however, some yet living who, at the declaration of independence, had acquired enough of the strength of manhood to enable them to grapple with the enemy on the field; and the records of the country, as well as the certificate of an honorable discharge, under the sign-manual of Washington, attest that our friend, Mr. Reily, was of that number.

In connection with the transactions detailed in your narrative, in which Mr. Reily participated so largely, it may be added that during the first eight years of his residence in the territory, his life and habits corresponded very much with those of a soldier.

The settlers were so constantly exposed to the enemy that their safety consisted in being ready at a moment's warning to resist an attack. If you inquire of any of the few pioneers who survive, they will tell you that it was as natural for them to carry their rifles to their corn and potato-patches as their hoes

or any other instrument of husbandry; and that when they collected on the Sabbath to engage in religious duties, whether in a cabin or under a tree, it was with loaded rifles at their sides. Indeed, it is impossible for those who have recently come to this country to realize, from such facts as are generally known, the true situation of the pioneer.

They encountered danger, privation, and suffering in forms not easily conceived of, and more appalling than those of hunger and exposure to the elements. But whatever they were, Mr. Reily partook of them all without murmur or complaint. With him it was a matter of calculation. Before he crossed the mountains or placed his foot beyond the limits of civilized society, he counted the cost, and his mind was deliberately made up that he would conform himself to the requirements of his new condition, be they what they might. His fellow adventurers have told us that he redeemed that pledge, and that in the winter of 1791, which was the midnight of the conflict, he manifested no despondency. The defeat of General St. Clair and the ruin of his army, on the fourth of November of that disastrous year, gave the savages unrestricted access to our settlements. The consequences to our citizens of such an exposure are apparent. They were assailed by an enemy outnumbering them twenty to one, and at the same time depended for safety more on their ingenuity and bravery than on anything else. Yet their hearts were resolute and their faces cheerful. Each encouraged his fellow, and all adopted the motto, *nil desperandum.* In the trials and sufferings of that little band, Mr. Reily had a full share. If a station were attacked, he was among the first to go to its relief. If a murder or other depredation were committed, he was ready to take the trail in pursuit of the enemy without loss of time. In common

with his hardy companions, he seemed to act as if danger was the natural condition of man, and his duty consisted in meeting it without reluctance or sense of fear.

I incline very much to the opinion that true bravery is the firm exercise of resolution, resulting from calm reflection, rather than any distinguishing property or quality of mind, inherent in some men and not in others. This idea is countenanced by the fact that the bravest men who have ever lived—men who have given evidence time and again that it would be as easy for them to commit suicide as to refuse an act of duty, merely because there was danger attending it, have been as careful to avoid unnecessary exposure as they have been to seek it when it became a duty to do so. It is also corroborated by the fact that there has not been one instance of cowardice among the Western pioneers. Not because their minds or nerves were organized differently from those of other men, but because the circumstances in which they had voluntarily placed themselves were such as identified the exercise of the most heroic courage with both duty and safety. Superficial reasoners are apt to confound caution and prudence with timidity and fear, though there is not the least similitude between them.

A brave man retires as instinctively from danger, when exposure is useless, as he seeks it when it becomes a duty. But whether these reflections be philosophical or otherwise, it must be conceded *that there were no cowards among the pioneers*, which is enough for my present purpose, let the fact have come to pass how it may.

It is impressed on my mind that immediately after the Revolutionary war, Mr. Reily determined to establish himself in Georgia, and make that State his permanent residence, and that

he actually went there with that view. Whether this be literally true or not, I know that shortly after the war he was in Georgia, where he purchased a warrant for a thousand acres of land, with an intention of improving it, but was prevented from doing so by the hostility of the Indians, who denied the right of the State to dispose of the land, and who had the power to prevent it from doing so. After remaining in that State for some time he became convinced that there was no prospect of a speedy termination of the difficulty with the Indians, and being anxious to make a permanent location somewhere, he left his land and came up to Tennessee. And thence he went to Kentucky, and after a short residence in that State he removed to the Miami purchase and settled at Columbia. In fact, he was one of the companions of Major Stites in laying out that village; and he assisted in erecting the first cabins that were built in it.* There, and at that time, his acquaintance commenced with the venerable Judge Dunlevy, who was also one of the pioneers, eminently distinguished for his energy and zeal in the common cause of the little band of adventurers who, like a forlorn hope, preceded the multitude who were to follow.

A friendship there began between him and Mr. Reily, which continued without interruption to increase and become more confidential till it was terminated by the death of the Judge.

The thought has often crossed my mind that the more intelligent portion of the pioneers was by far too negligent in making and preserving written memoranda of the transactions which took place in the early settlement of the western country. Had each of

*Judge Burnet is in error here, as the settlement was commenced in November, 1788, and Mr. Reily did not arrive at Columbia till December, 1789.

them preserved a sketch, however simple or concise, of the events in which he was a participant, in the order of their occurrence, these, when collected, would have furnished the material of one of the most interesting and thrilling histories that has yet been published. This, however, was not done, except in a limited degree, and it is now justly apprehended that the great zeal which exists to remedy this deficiency, and the careless manner in which it is done (by receiving without caution statements freshly reduced to writing as being *Ex Cathedra*), will be the means of imposing on society historical narratives of our early settlements which will be entitled to about as much credit *as the history of Gulliver*.

However desirable it is, and I admit it to be so in a high degree, to preserve to posterity a faithful narrative of the pioneers of the northwest, and of the means by which they were able to sustain themselves, with scarcely anything to rely on. Yet I can not forbear to say, that it will be better to let it all sink into oblivion, than palm on the world, as truth, such fabulous stories as we frequently meet with in respectable prints. If it be our desire to preserve truth, to the exclusion of fable, these statements must be received with increased caution, and be promptly rejected if their authenticity be not attested by unquestionable proof. Society sustains as much and probably more injury from falsehood imposed on them for truth than they do from the suppression or loss of authentic history.

In all periods of the world, men, with but few exceptions, have been pleased with the thought that a knowledge of their useful or brilliant achievements will survive them, and will preserve the memory, both of themselves and of their deeds, for ages after they are gone. Feelings like these are highly com-

mendable, as they are strong incentives to useful and honorable efforts. They should be cherished and encouraged as far as practicable; and to accomplish this more effectually, there should be such an assurance of the authenticity of history as will give credence to the facts it may contain; for who can feel ambitious to have his claims to public respect or gratitude, however correctly stated, so mingled with falsehood and fiction as to involve the entire publication which contains them in doubt or ridicule. Those persons, then, who labor faithfully and cautiously to preserve authentic historical knowledge, entitle themselves to the gratitude of the world. It should, however, be borne in mind, that the office of the historian is one of immense responsibility, that it always tells for good or for evil, and that its compiler will be held responsible for the consequences of a want of fidelity.

Very respectfully, your friend,

J. BURNET.

B.

General Andrew Lewis.

General Lewis was the son of the first white resident of Augusta county, Va., and was one of four brothers, all of whom were distinguished in the early history of the State. Thomas, the oldest, was for many years a member of the House of Burgesses. He there supported the bold resolutions of Patrick Henry in 1765. He sat in the conventions of 1775 and 1776, and in that by which the constitution of the United States

was ratified. William served under his brother, the general, against the French and Indians, and gained the rank of colonel by his eminent services during the Revolution. Andrew, the third in age, was born in Ulster, Ireland, in 1730. Very large and sinewy of frame, of commanding presence, well informed with the knowledge of books, of men, and of woodcraft, inured to the hardships and accustomed to the perils of the frontier, quick and clear in his plans, and as quick and thorough in their execution, he soon became one of the prominent men of the border. He was a volunteer in the expedition to the Ohio in 1754; was with Washington when he surrendered Fort Necessity, and was in Braddock's army when it was so terribly defeated near Fort Duquesne; commanded the expedition defeated at Sunday creek in 1756, and in 1774 gained a decisive victory at Point Pleasant over the combined forces of the Delawares, Cayugas, Wyandots, and Shawanese, led by the celebrated Shawanese chief, Cornstalk. Lewis' forces amounted to 1,100 or 1,200 men, and the Indians nearly the same. The fourth brother, Charles, commanded one of the three regiments engaged in this battle, and was killed in the thickest of the fight. M.

C.

Extract from the original Journal, or Day-Book, of John Reily.

Set out from Lincoln county (Ky.) on the 11th of December, 1789, and arrived at Columbia town on the 18th instant, and there remained with Mr. John Philips to the 24th inst.; then set out for the Great Miami, and returned to Mr. Philips' on the first day of January, 1790.

On the 6th day of January set out to go to Kentucky by the way of Licking river, but being unfortunate was obliged to return the same way, and arrived at Columbia on the first day of February.

On the 15th of February undertook a tourup the Little Miami, and returned in six days. Afterwards spent the greater part of five weeks in reconnoitering the country adjacent to the river Ohio.

1790. In the latter end of March purchased some lots in the town of Columbia, and employed my time in clearing off the same, and planting them with corn.

On the 21st day of June began to teach school in the town of Columbia, having been engaged to teach for six months, during which time I continued to live with Mr. John Philips, with the exception of the few days hereafter mentioned, viz: In the month of August boarded twelve days with Mr. Patrick Moore; in the month of September boarded twelve days with Hugh Dunn, and in the month of December boarded with John McCulloch six days. Afterwards continued to board with Mr. Philips until the 20th day of May, in the year 1791.

D.

Dunlap's Station.

In 1790, John Dunlap, who had been one of Judge Symmes' confidential surveyors, formed a settlement on the east side of the Great Miami river, at a point eight miles from where the town of Hamilton now is, and seventeen miles from Cincinnati. The river there makes a great bend to the west, inclosing in its curve a very fertile tract of land of about a thousand acres, which is bounded on the east by a range of hills almost one hundred feet high. On this bottom is one of those ancient works, supposed to have been constructed by a race of people who inhabited this country previous to the present race of Indians. The embankment, which is of earth, and in some parts is yet eight or ten feet high, incloses near one hundred acres of land. At the angle of the river below is a hill two hundred and eighty feet high, on the top of which is a mound ten feet high, commanding an extensive view of the surrounding country. On the south side of this tract of bottom land, immediately on the bank of the river where the water is deep, the settlers erected a fortification for their security. It consisted of several block-houses built of logs, and a number of cabins, with pickets in the unoccupied space between them, in the form of a square, inclosing a little more than an acre of ground. On the south side it was protected by the deep waters of the river. The cabins, for the sake of convenience, were built with the roof sloping outward, the very reverse of what

they should have been for defense. The outer eaves were so low that it was no uncommon thing for the dogs, when shut out of the fort, to spring from an adjacent stump upon the roofs of the cabins and thence into the enclosure.

The station and settlement were named after Mr. Dunlap. He also laid out a town at this place which he called Colerain, from his native place in Ireland. He failed, however, to perfect his title to the ground, and the settlers who had purchased from him lost their claims. Colerain afterward became the name of the township where the land lies. This was the first settlement in the interior back from the Ohio river.

For some time after the establishment of the station, the Indians gave these pioneer adventurers a great deal of trouble and anxiety. In 1790, David Gibson was taken prisoner by the Indians when passing, one day, along a narrow trace between the base of the hill and the river, a short distance below the station. He remained a prisoner until Wayne's treaty in 1795. During his captivity he married a white woman, who had been taken prisoner in Pennsylvania ten years previous to his own capture. When released, by the terms of the treaty, they settled in the south part of Butler county, where they resided many years, and finally removed to Indiana. William Crum and Thomas Larrison were chased at the peril of their lives into the station, and the inhabitants hardly dared venture after their cows when they strayed off into the woods. They applied, in the winter of 1790–1791, to General Harmar, then in command at Fort Washington, for a detachment of soldiers for their protection, and he detailed for that purpose Lieutenant Kingsbury, with a party of eighteen soldiers.

E.

The Attack on Dunlap's Station.

It may not be considered a very important matter when and in what manner the attack on Dunlap station was made, and how it was relieved, but a regard for the truth of history, however, induces us here to record the various statements which have been made with reference to it.

The account given in the text is that of Mr. Reily, who, in his whole life, was remarkable for his accuracy and punctillious regard for truth. It corresponds also with the story as often related by John S. Wallace, one of the participants in the affair. The main points in these accounts are as follows:

On Saturday morning, *January* 8, the surveying party (Sloan, Wallace, Hunt, and Cunningham) was attacked. Sloan and Wallace escaped to the station.

On Monday, *January* 10, the Indians invested the station. Immediately after a parley, Hunt was tortured and killed.

On Tuesday, *January* 11, at 3 o'clock in the morning, Wallace and Wiseman escaped from the station unnoticed by the Indians, and six miles from Cincinnati met the party from the town going to relieve the station, the alarm having been given by some hunters the evening previous. They returned with them, and between ten and eleven o'clock reached the top of the hills overlooking the station. The Indians had abandoned the siege an hour before.

Fifty-nine years after the event (in 1850), Mr. Charles Cist relates that he had the pleasure of bringing together two of the defenders of Dunlap's Station, William Wiseman, above referred to, then in his eighty-first year, and Samuel Hahn, over seventy-three years of age. He took down from their lips their accounts of the attack, and published them in his "*Cincinnati in* 1859." Wiseman's, page 91; Hahn's, page 103.

Mr. Wiseman's statement is briefly as follows:

On Saturday, *February* 5, the surveying party attacked.

On Monday, *February* 7, at day dawn, the Indians invest the station. Hunt was tortured at midnight on the night of the 7th and 8th. His screams could be heard till toward daylight.

On Tuesday, *February* 8th, between seven and ten o'clock, Wiseman started *alone* across the river *amid a shower of bullets from the Indians*; reached Cincinnati at four o'clock that afternoon; remained there all night.

On Wednesday, *February* 9th, the party started from Cincinnati to relieve the station, which they reached between one and two o'clock. The Indians had raised the siege an hour or two before.

Mr. Hahn's account, though less circumstantial than Wiseman's, is substantially the same, except that he says the Indians decamped "early in the morning" on Wednesday.

It will be perceived that there is four weeks difference in the dates; that, according to Wallace, the siege lasted a little over a day; by Wiseman's account, a little over two days.

Thomas Irwin, who was with the relieving party, gave Mr. Cist an account of the affair, which was published in "*Cist's Advertiser*" for March 21, 1848. He gives the date "between the first and ninth days of January, 1791." He says the news of

the attack was brought to Cincinnati by a hunter by the name of Cox, who had encamped over night within five or six miles of the station, and in the morning, hearing distinctly the firing at the station, returned to the town to give the alarm. The relief party started early next morning.

B. Van Cleve, a well-known pioneer, who was with the relief party, says the Indians "continued the siege for about twenty-six hours." See *American Pioneer*, vol. II, page 148.

Henry Howe, in his *Historical Collections of Ohio*, page 210, follows Mr. Wallace's account.

In the historical sketches prefixed to Farnsworth's *Cincinnati Directory* for 1819, page 22, is an account of the attack, corroborating Wallace's statement as to the dates and duration of the siege.

In view of the above evidence we are inclined to give credence to Mr. Wallace's statements in every respect except as to the time of the torturing of Hunt. As to that, however, Mr. McBride does not say that it was in the morning, though its place in the narrative—immediately after the conference with the Indians—conveys the idea that it took place at that time. In weighing the testimony of Wiseman and Hahn, it must be borne in mind that it was given when they were both very old men, and fifty-nine years after the event. The statement that Wiseman made his escape from the station in broad daylight, and under a shower of bullets from the Indians, is particularly incredible. They would certainly not have permitted his escape, knowing, as they must, had they seen him, the object of his mission.

We have been unable to find any other mention of the attack, giving details which bear on the disputed points.

F.

Rev. David Jones.

Rev. David Jones was born in White Clay Creek Hundred, Newcastle county, Delaware, May 12, 1736; was licensed to preach by the Welch Tract Church in 1761, ordained at Freehold, Monmouth county, N. J., December 12, 1766, and remained as pastor of the church at that place till 1772, when he became strongly impressed with a desire to visit the Indians in the territory north-west of the Ohio river. He resigned his charge, and started on his mission May 4, 1772, returning in August. So intent, however, had he become in this mission work, that he made a second trip October 26, 1772, and remained among the Indians in Ohio till the following April. The journal which he kept on these two visits was published at Burlington, N. J., in 1774, and republished, with a biographical sketch by his grandson, Horatio Gates Jones, in New York in 1865, and contains an interesting account of the manners, customs, language, and religious belief of the Indians. In 1775 he became pastor of the Great Valley Baptist church in Chester county, Pa., but resigned the following year, on his appointment as chaplain to a Pennsylvania regiment, of which Colonel (afterward Major-General) St. Clair was commander. He was on duty with him at Ticonderoga, served two campaigns under Major-General Gates, and was brigade chaplain under General Wayne in 1777. At the close of the war he retired to a farm in Eastown, Chester county. In 1786 he became pastor of the

church at Southampton, Bucks county, but after a pastorate of six years he returned to the Great Valley church. He visited Ohio in 1789, and again returned as chaplain under his old commander, General Wayne, in 1794, serving until the establishment of peace with the Indians. His love of country was so strong that in 1812, though a veteran of seventy-six years of age, he again volunteered his services as chaplain, and served under Generals Brown and Wilkinson until the end of the war. He then retired to the "Valley," where he died on the 5th of February, 1820, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

G.

Rev. John Mason.

Elder John Mason was a brother of Elder John Smith's wife, a Virginian by birth and education. He was present at the organization of the First Baptist Association in October, 1798, in which he took a prominent part. In 1806 he appears as a delegate, and was then pastor of Sugar Creek church, where he remained many years. In 1824 he removed to Indiana, on account of some doctrinal disputation with Elder Willson Thompson. He died at a good old age, in Indiana, about the year 1835. See "*Dunlevy's History of the Miami Baptist Association*," p. 128.

H.

Rev. David Rice.

Father Rice, by which name this venerable man was widely known in Kentucky, was born in Hanover county, Va., December 20, 1733, educated at Nassau Hall, studied theology with the Rev. John Todd, ordained by Hanover Presbytery December, 1763, and soon became a popular and successful preacher. After laboring in various fields, he removed to Kentucky in 1783, and organized the churches at Danville, Cane run, and the forks of Dick's river. He took an active part in all public affairs, was chairman of the board of trustees of Transylvania seminary, and its first teacher while yet a grammar school. He was a member of the convention which met at Danville in 1792 to frame the state constitution, in which he exerted himself for the insertion of an article providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves, but without success. After a faithful ministry of thirty-five years, he resigned his charge, and removed to Greene county in 1798. He did not, however, cease his labors in the church. He preached to vacant congregations, and took an active interest in all church questions. In 1805 and 1806 he undertook an extensive missionary tour through Ohio and Kentucky, by appointment of the general assembly. For the last three years of his life he was prevented from preaching and writing by the gradual decay of nature. He died June 18, 1816, in the eighty-third year of his age. See "*An Outline of the History of the Church in the State of Kentucky during a period of forty-five years, containing the Memoirs of Rev. David Rice, etc.*" Collected and arranged by Robert H. Bishop. Lexington, 1824. Also, Davidson's "*History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky.*"

I.

Rev. Stephen Gano.

Dr. Stephen Gano, third son of Rev. John and Sarah (Stites) Gano, was born in the city of New York 25th December, 1762, ordained 2d August, 1786. He was successively, for some time, the pastor of the Baptist church at Hillsdale, and at Hudson. In 1792 he accepted the pastorate of the First Baptist church in Providence, R. I., which he retained till the time of his death, 18th August, 1828.

Dr. Gano had many relatives in the West (the Stites and Gano families), and made them many visits.

In one of his trips he preached at Lexington, Ky. Henry Clay was present, and said of him: "He was a remarkably fervent preacher, and distinguished for a simple, effective manner. And of all preachers I ever listened to, he made me feel the most that religion was a divine reality." For sketch of his life, see Sprague's "*Annals of the American Baptist Pulpit*," p. 229.

J.

Baptist Church at Columbia.

The account given in the text of the organization of the Baptist church at Columbia, the first in the western country, differs somewhat in dates and names from that of Hon. A. H. Dunlevy, in an interesting and valuable little work just published (May, 1869), entitled "A History of the Miami Baptist Association from its Organization," etc. We copy some portions of his statement:

"The first Baptist church in Ohio was constituted by the aid of the Rev. Stephen Gano, afterward of Providence, Rhode Island, on the 20th of January, 1790, at the house of Benjamin Davis, in Columbia, five miles above the present site of Cincinnati. This was on Saturday, and immediately after organizing the church, then consisting of nine persons, viz: Benjamin Davis, Mary Davis, Isaac Ferris, Jonah Reynolds, Elizabeth Ferris, Amy Reynolds, John Ferris, John S. Gano, and Thomas C. Wade, Isaac Ferris was appointed deacon, and John S. Gano clerk. The door of the church was then opened, and Elijah Stites, Rhoda Stites, and Sarah Ferris were received on experience, and baptized by Dr. Gano on the next day. Thomas Sloo, a member of Dr. Gano's church, of New York city, and who had come out West with Dr. Stephen Gano, was present. Both Mr. Sloo and Dr. John Gano afterward moved to Kentucky. Soon after, three others, Mrs. Meek, Smith, and Baily united by letter. * * * * On the 24th of January, 1790, at a called meeting they gave a unanimous invitation to Rev. Stephen Gano to become their pastor, but he declined. * * * * The house was so far completed in the spring of 1793 as to be occupied for preaching * * * * on the 21st day of

September, 1792. Elder Daniel Clark, before a licentiate from Whiteley church, Pa., was ordained at Columbia * * under the shade of some large trees on the bank of the Ohio river."

In a foot note Judge Dunlevy says that his dates are given on the authority of a diary kept by Dr. William Goforth, at that time a resident of Columbia, though Dr. Ezra Ferris, of Lawrenceburgh, Indiana, who was also present at the organization of the church, "is positive that it took place on the last Saturday in March, 1790," which is the date as given by Mr. Reily.

Dr. Goforth's diary was published by Mr. Cist in his "*Cincinnati Advertiser*." The following are the portions of it relating to this church:

1790.

Jany. 13. Doctor David Jones preached.
18. Doctor Gano and Thomas Sloo came here.
20. The church was constituted Baptist church at Columbia.
21. Three persons were baptized.
24. Called a church meeting, and took unanimous to call the Rev'd Stephen Gano to the pastoral charge of the church at Columbia.

This would seem to fix the date definitely, if the diary had been written from time to time as the events occurred. We think, however, that there are anacronisms in the diary which prove that it was made up of memoranda in chronological order many years after the events took place. If Mr. Cist has printed the extracts without interpolation, we have been unable to find the original. Under the date of March 27th, 1791, is the following entry: "Mrs. Plasket arrived—the 24 in the morning fought the Indians just after daybreak, about 3 miles above Scioto—this the same battle mentioned in Hubble's narrative." Hubble's narrative was, however, not published

till 1820, when it appeared in the *Western Review*. It will be found also in McClung's *Western Adventure*, page 231. Again, under the date of November 2d, 1792, he mentions that a committee "met at Mr. Reily's school-house. Mr. Reily, then a teacher, was for many years clerk of the Butler common pleas and supreme court." This was not till many years after the event recorded. We have here two independent witnesses against one. We are, therefore, inclined to the belief that the dates named by Mr. Reily and Dr. Ferris are the true ones.

With reference to the names of the first members, Mr. Dunlevy writes to us as follows: "I could not find any records of the Columbia church at its organization in 1790, or any time after, while in its early state. To make out the list of its members at its organization, those received immediately afterward, and those who united still later, but at an early period, I had to consult all the persons then living, and known to me as having the more correct knowledge of the subject. Dr. Ezra Ferris, late of Lawrenceburgh, Ind., and the late Mrs. Mary Gano, widow of John S. Gano, one of the first members of the church, they agreed remarkably well in everything but the date of the organization of the church," etc. As Mr. McBride makes one mistake in his account, viz: mentions *ten* persons, though he says there were only *nine*, we presume that Judge Dunlevy's list of members is the more correct one.

As to the time when the church building was completed, whether in the spring or autumn of 1793, and the time when Elder Clark was ordained, whether the 21st or 23d September, 1793, we have been unable to find any evidence which would establish either date.

K.

Rev. John Smith.

Judge Burnet, an intimate friend of Mr. Smith, gives the following account of his connection with the Burr conspiracy:

"When the colonel (Burr) was on his tour through the western country, in 1806, he spent a week or two in Cincinnati. Mr. Smith was then a senator, and has been a member of that body when Colonel Burr presided in it as vice-president of the United States. He, therefore, very naturally invited him to his house, and tendered to him its hospitality during his stay in the place. This act of respect and kindness, dictated by a generous feeling, was relied on as evidence that he was a partizan of the colonel, and engaged in his project. A number of persons then residing in Cincinnati, who were in constant and intimate intercourse with Colonel Burr, and who were universally believed to be engaged in his undertaking, whatever it might have been, deserted him as soon as the storm began to gather. * * * * * It was amusing to see those men, who had so recently been the most devoted attendants on the colonel, and the most vocal in his praise, denouncing him as a traitor, and tendering their services to the governor of the state, to arrest the culprit and bring him to justice. Mr. Smith was a firm, consistent man, not easily alarmed; he solemnly affirmed his belief that Colonel Burr was not engaged in any project injurious to the country, and refused to join in the outcry against him, or to aid in the measures that were taken to procure his arrest. The consequence was, he was denounced himself, and a bill of indictment found against him, which was, however, abandoned with an attempt to bring him to trial."—*Burnet's Notes on the Northwestern Territory, pp.* 294, 295.

He was afterward tried in the senate on the same charges, and though they were not sustained, the vote was so close that he immediately resigned his seat.

The expense of collecting testimony and conducting his defense before the senate had been very great, and his neglected business still further involved him. On his return home, so great was the prejudice against him that his creditors pressed their claims upon him for immediate settlement, and his property was seized and sacrificed. Completely broken down and disheartened by the persecution of his former friends and neighbors, in the spring of 1808 he removed to St. Francisville, Louisiana, where he owned some land. There he lived in comparative obscurity until the time of his death, in 1824. For an interesting sketch of the life of this remarkable man, see Dunlevy's "*History of the Miami Baptist Association*," *pp.* 96–119.

L.

Rev. John Gano.

Dr. John Gano was born at Hopewell, N. J., 22d July, 1727. His great grandfather, Francis Gerneaux (the original name), was a Huguenot refugee from the Island of Guernsey. He was ordained in May, 1754. He made several missionary trips to the South, was chosen pastor of the newly-organized Baptist church in New York city in 1762, and continued there for twenty-five years, though engaged part of the time during the Revolution as chaplain in the American army. In 1787 he

removed to Kentucky, reaching Limestone (now Maysville) on the 17th of June. The following year he became pastor of the Town Fork church, near Lexington. In 1798 he lost the use of one of his arms, by a fall from a horse, and afterward suffered a paralytic stroke, which rendered him almost speechless for nearly a year. He died in 1804 in the seventy-eighth year of his age. See Sprague's "*Annals of the American Baptist Pulpit*," *p.* 64, and Collins' "*Historical Sketches of Kentucky*," *p.* 113.

M.

Rev. Daniel Clark.

"Elder Clark remained connected with the Columbia church as assistant of Elder Smith, who was assigned to preach a part of the time at Cincinnati, until the year 1795, when the latter resigned the care of the Columbia church and took charge of the Island church. Elder Clark continued his labors with this church until the fall of 1797, when he moved about thirty miles northeast, where were organized first, Deer creek, and soon after, Turtle creek (now Lebanon) church. He supplied both with preaching several years, and was the only pastor of the Lebanon church from its organization, in 1798, until about 1829, when he became too feeble to preach. He died December 11, 1834, in the ninetieth year of his age."—*Dunlevy's History of the Miami Baptist Association*, 1869, *p.* 21. A more extended notice of Elder Clark will be found on page 142 of the same work.

N.

Judge Francis Dunlevy.

Judge Dunlevy was born near Winchester, Va., on the 31st day of December, 1761. When he was about ten years old his father removed, with his family, and settled in what was then supposed to be Western Virginia, but on the running of Mason & Dixon's line, his residence was found to be within the State of Pennsylvania. At the age of fourteen young Francis shouldered his rifle and served in a campaign against the Indians, and continued in the service till the close of the Revolutionary war. He assisted in building Fort McIntosh, at the mouth of Beaver river, in the spring of 1778, being the first regularly-built fort within the territory now comprising the State of Ohio. He was with Colonel Crawford at the time of his disastrous defeat on the plains of Sandusky, where so many valuable lives were lost, and Colonel Crawford was taken prisoner, tortured, and burnt to death by the Indians. Mr. Dunlevy was on the extreme flank of the army during the battle, which continued till quite dark, and when the main body retreated, pursued by the Indians, he and two others were cut off and made their way alone through the wilderness, without provisions, to Pittsburgh.

In 1787 he removed with his father and family to Kentucky, and thence he went in 1791 to Columbia, where he lived until his removal to the neighborhood of Lebanon in 1797. There he resided until the time of his death, November 6, 1839, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He was a member of the con-

vention which framed the first constitution of the State of Ohio, and a member of the first legislature under the state government, which met in 1803. When the judiciary was first organized he was appointed presiding judge of the court of common pleas of the first circuit, composed of the counties of Hamilton, Butler, Warren, Clermont, Montgomery, Green, Miami, and Champaign, to which were afterward added Clinton and Preble. He held the office fourteen years, and during all that time never missed a single court in any of the counties comprising his circuit. No obstacle prevented his attending to his duties. There were few roads or bridges in those days, and many a time he crossed the swollen streams, swimming either on his horse or by its side, rather than fail to be at his post. When his term of service expired he went to the bar and practiced law fifteen years in the same courts in which he had formerly presided, and then retired to private life and the uninterrupted enjoyment of his books and study. For a sketch of Judge Dunlevy, see Dunlevy's "*History of the Miami Baptist Association*," *p.* 147.

O.

Laws of Northwestern Territory.

The laws passed by the governor and judges were published as follows:

1. "Laws passed in the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, from the commencement of the government to the 31st of December, 1791. Published by authority. Philadelphia. Printed by Francis Childs and John Swaine. M,DCC,XCII." Pp. 70.
2. "Laws passed in the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, from July to December, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-two inclusive. Published by authority. Philadelphia. Printed by Francis Childs and John Swaine, Printers of the Laws of the United States. M,DCC,XCIV." Pp. 77.
3. "Laws of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio, adopted and made by the Governor and Judges, in their Legislative capacity, at a session begun on Friday the xxix day of May, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-five, and ending on Tuesday the 25th day of August following, with an Appendix of Resolutions and the Ordinance for the Government of the Territory. By authority. Cincinnati. Printed by W. Maxwell. M,DCC,XCVI." Pp. 225.

The last was known as "Maxwell's Code," and was the first book printed in Cincinnati.

The laws enacted at the three sessions of the territorial

legislature were published under Mr. Reily's superintendence, as follows:

I. "Laws of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River, passed at the first session of the General Assembly begun and held at Cincinnati on Monday the 16th day of Sept. A. D. 1799; also Certain Laws enacted by the Governor and Judges of the Territory from the commencement of the Government to December, 1792. With an Appendix containing Resolutions, the Ordinance of Congress for the Government of the Territory, the Constitution of the United States, and the Law respecting Fugitives. Vol. I. Published by authority. Cincinnati. From the Press of Carpenter and Findley, Printers to the Territory. M,D,CCC." Pp. 280.

II. "Laws of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, passed at the second session of the First General Assembly, begun and holden at Chillicothe on Monday the third day of November, 1800, with an Appendix of Resolutions. Vol. II. Published by authority. Chillicothe. Printed by Winship & Willis, Printers to the Honorable the Legislature, 1801." Pp. 112.

III. "Laws of the Territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, passed at the First Session of the Second General Assembly, begun and holden at Chillicothe on Monday the twenty-third day of November, 1801. Also, an Appendix containing certain Acts and Resolutions. Vol. III. Published by authority. Chillicothe. From the Press of N. Willis, Printer to the hon. Legislature, 1802." Pp. 253.

P.

First Library in the Northwestern Territory.

The celebrated "Coon-skin Library," founded at Ames, Athens county, Ohio, February 2, 1804, and afterward incorporated under the name of the "Western Library Association," has always had the credit of having been the first public library in the northwestern territory. The "Cincinnati Library" was, however, established nearly two years earlier. The following is a copy of the original subscription paper, now in our possession:

CINCINNATI LIBRARY.

At a meeting held on Saturday evening, the 13th instant, at Mr. Yeatman's tavern, for the purpose of promoting the establishment of a public Library in the town of Cincinnati, Messrs. Jacob Burnet, Martin Baum, and Lewis Kerr were appointed a committee to open a subscription for carrying the above object into effect.

The committee therefore respectfully submit the following form to the public for subscription:

"We, the subscribers, being desirous of establishing a public Library in the town of Cincinnati, agree to take as many shares in the stock of such an institution as are annexed to our names respectively, and pay for the same at the rate of ten dollars for each share."

Cincinnati, February 15, 1802.

Subscribers' Names.	*No. of Shares.*
Ar. St. Clair	2
Peyton Short	2
Corns. R. Sedam	2
Saml. C. Vance	2
James Walker	one
Ls. Kerr	2
James Findlay	2
Jerh. Hunt	2
Griffin Yeatman	one
Martin Baum	2
C. Killgore	one
P. P. Stuart	one
W. Stanley	one
Jacob White	two
Patrick Dickey	one
C. Avery	one
John Reily	one
John R. Mills	one
Jac. Burnet	one
Jonathan Smith Findlay	one
William Ruffin	one
Joseph Prince	one
David E. Wade	one
Isaac Van Nuys	one
Joel Williams	one

In all $340. Taking into consideration the great scarcity of money at that time, it was an exceedingly liberal subscription. By a note on the back of the paper we learn that the library went into operation March 6, 1802. Lewis Kerr was chosen librarian.

II.

Thomas Irwin.

OF the dangers, privations, and sufferings endured by the pioneers of the western country, Thomas Irwin, the subject of this memoir, bore his due share. He was born in the county of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight. The first settlements on the west side of the Alleghany mountains, on the Monongahela river, commenced about this time. The great object which induced people to remove to the western country was land, for, as the saying then was, land was to be had for the taking up, that is, for building a cabin and making a small improvement. The amount to be paid was merely nominal, enough to cover the expenses of surveying and issuing a title. The father of Thomas Irwin was a farmer in humble circumstances, and not being possessed of land in his own right where he lived, he concluded to remove west. Accordingly in 1782 he left Lancaster county and set out for the western frontier of Pennsylvania, then called the "Backwoods," taking young Thomas, then in his fourteenth year, along with him. The removal was effected on horses, furnished

with pack saddles. They located on a tract of land near what is now the town of Washington, Washington county, Pennsylvania. The place was then called "Cat-fish."

Thomas remained at home with his father and family, assisting in building cabins and clearing out the farm, until 1789. Reports of the fine lands of Kentucky and the Miami country, the settlement of which was then commencing, reached the ears of young Irwin. Emigration in that direction had just begun. Stimulated by the spirit of adventure, he left his father's house and friends to seek his fortune in the far west, and in company with James Burns and another neighbor, he went to Pittsburg and purchased a small strong flat-boat for the purpose of descending the Ohio river. The crew consisted of Thomas Irwin, James Burns, a Mr. Cunningham, and Mr. Taylor. They set out on their voyage in the last week in March, 1789, and proceeded to Wheeling, where they landed and remained two days. Here they met with a family who had intended going with them to Limestone, now Maysville, and settling in the interior of Kentucky, but who became alarmed at the report of Indian depredations on the Ohio, and would not proceed with them. The Indians were then very troublesome on the river. Scarce a boat descended but was attacked by them, and when captured as they frequently were, the whole party was murdered in the most cruel manner or carried into

captivity. Irwin with his friends left Wheeling in company with a large boat destined for the falls of the Ohio, on the last day of March.

They floated night and day, and though they were sometimes alarmed, and constantly apprehending an attack from the Indians, they saw but few signs of them during their passage, and arrived at Limestone without meeting with any disaster. The next morning Cunningham and Taylor left them and went into the interior of Kentucky. Irwin and Burns proceeded on their voyage down the river, in company with the same boat which came with them from Wheeling, until they arrived at the settlement of Columbia, which had been commenced the fall previous, just below the mouth of the Little Miami river. The boat destined for the falls proceeded on her voyage. Messrs. Irwin and Burns remained at Columbia during the day, examining the place. Mr. Irwin said there were quite a number of families residing there at the time, scattered over the bottom lands, and, as he thought, very much exposed. They offered great inducements to the young adventurers to locate themselves at Columbia, and though they informed them of another small settlement eight miles further down the river, opposite the mouth of the Licking river, they gave them no encouragement to go there.

They remained in their boat during the night, and the next morning left it in the care of the man opposite

whose house they had landed, and taking their guns started down the river bank in quest of the settlement below. The bank was narrow, and there was no road or trace, the woods were thick, and the way much obstructed by underbrush and vines, so that the traveling was very tedious. Opposite the mouth of the Licking river, they came to a double shanty occupied by seven men. These men, all but two of them, had been employed with the surveyors in surveying Symmes' purchase, during the preceding winter. Their names were David Logan, Caleb Reeves, Robert McConnell, Francis Hardesty, Mr. Van Eaton, William McMillan and John Vance. Joel Williams was also there, and had been with the surveyors a part of the time and was with Israel Ludlow when he surveyed and laid out the town in February previous* (1789), marking the lines

*Mr. Irwin makes these statements to Mr. McBride by letter dated Dec. 10, 1841, fifty years after the events. He was, however, in error on some points. The original record of the distribution and sale of lots in Losantiville (as the town was then called) for 1789 and 1790 is still in the possession of the Ludlow family. The surveying party landed opposite the mouth of the Licking on 28th of December, 1788, and this "record" shows that on the 7th of January, 1789, a distribution was made by lot to thirty actual settlers, an in-lot and an out-lot to each. Of those mentioned by Mr. Irwin, the names of three, William McMillan, John Vance, and Joel Williams, appear among the original thirty. There is a *James* McConnell also among them, but no *Robert*. A number of lots were afterward donated. In this list the name of David Logan appears, under date of May 1, 1789, and on the 24th of

of the streets and corners of lots on the trees. This shanty had been built by these persons for their accommodation, immediately after they laid out the town. It was the first improvement made in the place, and these persons were the first settlers of Cincinnati. Joel Williams assisted them to build the shanty, and remained with them some time, until, with their assistance, he built a cabin on his own lot near the foot of Main street. He had the plat of the town, was an agent for the proprietors, and encouraged Irwin and Burns to settle themselves at that place. In the evening of the same day, they returned to Columbia, remaining on board their boat all night.

The next day they floated down the river and landed at the shanty opposite to the mouth of Licking river. This was about the 10th day of April. The next day was spent in examining the place, and being pleased with the situation, they concluded to remain. Mr. Burns located one town lot and one out-lot. The out-lot contained four acres. Irwin also obtained a town lot.* They cleared one acre of ground which they

September he purchased another lot. John Van Eaton enters a lot December, 1789. *Francis* Hardesty's name is not on the record, though *Uriah* Hardesty purchased a lot in September, 1789, and *Hezekiah* Hardesty, one on the 5th of January, 1790. The name of Caleb Reeves does not appear on the record.

*Their names do not appear on the *Record of Lots*.

planted with corn. Mr. Irwin, in speaking of the appearance of the place, the settlement and the inhabitants at that period of time, says there was an exceedingly heavy growth of timber, of different kinds, both on the first and second levels. The lower plain extended back from the river about sixty rods to an abrupt steep bank, about forty feet high, above which was the upper plain or table land. The surface of the ground at the bank of the river was higher than the ground at the base of the hill, forming there a morass or narrow swamp extending from Main street to Broadway. Along the margin of the river was a heavy growth of sycamore and sugar trees. Where the swamp came in between the river bank and the foot of the hill, was a growth of white walnut, maple, white elm, and white ash. On the upper or second level was a variety of timber, such as beech, ash, black walnut, hickory, black, white and red oak, interspersed with some poplar. An abundant growth of spice wood was the undergrowth on both the upper and lower plains.

The double shanty, before mentioned, occupied by Logan, McMillan, and others, was situated about the head of Front street. Irwin and Burns located themselves near to it, and put up a temporary shanty which they occupied during their stay that summer. The other settlers were scattered principally between Sycamore and Main streets. William McMillan and John Vance originally came from the State of Tennessee to

Kentucky. Mr. McMillan was a good scholar and a very intelligent man. He was appointed a magistrate by Governor St. Clair, in January, 1790, and was the first justice of the peace in that place.

The families and persons residing in Cincinnati, during the first season of Mr. Irwin's residence there, according to his recollection, were, a Mr. McHenry, who had a large family, two sons and two daughters grown, besides several smaller children. A Mr. Ross, who had a grown-up daughter and two or three younger children. A Mr. Kennedy, who had a wife and four or five children. A Mr. Dement, who had a wife and four or five children. A Mr. White,* who had a wife and one child, he afterward removed to North Bend. Matthew Fowler had a wife, having been married but a short time. Joel Williams, Luther Kitchell, Seth Cutter, and a young man who cooked for them, occupied a shanty near the foot and west of Main street. Robert Benham, and two men he had hired, one of them a carpenter, with a person to cook for them, occupied a shanty on the bank of the river, below Main street. At Sycamore street the river inclined to the south, so that below Main street there was room for a tier of lots between Front street and the river. Benham lived on

*Their full names as given on the *Record of Lots* were Enoch McHendry, Jonathan Ross, Francis Kennedy, Benjamin Dumont, and Sylvester White.

one of these lots and had put up a hewed log-house, the first house of that kind built in the place. The raising was about the 1st of June, 1789. Mr. Irwin and all the other settlers of that place assisted him to put it up. Benham was an industrious and enterprising man. He was an excellent hand to manage and work with horses. All the logs for his house were cut within the town plat, and hauled by himself to his lot. A young man by the name of Daniel Shoemaker lived with Matthew Fowler. He afterward married Miss Ross. Mr. Kitchell* and his father landed at Cincinnati ten days or two weeks after Mr. Irwin arrived there. There were two families in the boat and they brought materials to build a small keel-boat, in which to ascend the river to Wheeling, which they left at Cincinnati and went with their families to North Bend. They afterward returned to Cincinnati, and put up with Joel Williams while building their boat. The settlers at that. time had to depend principally upon the hunters for their meat. Vance and Fowler were excellent hunters. Irwin accompanied them on many of their excursions, and he said that during the three months he resided there, on his first visit, he improved considerably in the art of hunting by being in their company. In those excursions he saw no Indians nor any signs of them. About the last

* Mr. Kitchell had been there before, however, as he was one of the original thirty who drew for the donation lots on the 7th of January.

of June, Mr. Kitchell having completed his boat, started for Wheeling. Irwin and Burns accompanied him. Robert Benham also went with them as far as Limestone, to procure nails to finish his house. After a tedious voyage up stream, the boat arrived at Wheeling, and Mr. Irwin returned home to his father's in Washington county, Pennsylvania, where he remained until the succeeding year. Burns returned to Cincinnati in April, 1791. In the summer of 1789, Major Doughty descended the Ohio river from Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum river, with one hundred and forty men, and commenced the construction of Fort Washington at the settlement opposite the mouth of the Licking, which was completed before the close of the year. This fort was one of the best forts of wood ever built in the western country. Josiah Harmar, who had borne arms as colonel, with credit, during the war of the Revolution, was commissioned as brigadier general, and assigned to the command of the western army in 1789. He arrived at Fort Washington with three hundred men, on the 29th day of December in that year, and took command. The continuance of Indian hostilities and depredations on the infant settlements of the west, determined the general government to make an effort to terminate the war, by marching an army into the Indian country and attacking the enemy on their own ground. A call for volunteers and a requisition or draft of militia from the States of Pennsylvania and

Kentucky, were made for the contemplated expedition, under the command of General Harmar, against the Indians. Major James Paul, of Uniontown, Pennsylvania, raised a battalion of volunteers. Thomas Irwin volunteered and joined them at Cat-fish, the place where the town of Washington now is. He belonged to the company under the command of Captain Faulkner, who had been an officer in the war of the Revolution. In organizing the company, Mr. Irwin was elected ensign, and a Mr. Hueston lieutenant. The Pennsylvania troops were under the command of Colonel Truby. They descended the Ohio river in boats in September, 1790, and landed at Fort Washington on the 19th of that month. The troops from Kentucky, under the command of Colonels Hardin and Trotter, had marched across the country from Lexington, and were then encamped along the bank of the Ohio river, below the mouth of Licking, where Covington now is. The principal object of the expedition was to destroy the Indian villages at and near the confluence of the St. Joseph and St. Mary rivers, where they unite and form the Maumee, near where Fort Wayne was afterward built. General Harmar, having made every practicable preparation for the campaign, ordered Colonel Hardin, with six hundred of the Kentucky troops, to advance along what was called "Clark's Old Trace" for about twenty-five miles, and there to halt for further orders. Accordingly Colonel Hardin set out on the twenty-

sixth of September, and proceeded to Turtle creek, a short distance west of where the town of Lebanon now is, and there encamped. General Harmar commenced his march from Fort Washington on the 30th of the same month. His force consisted of three hundred and twenty soldiers of the regular army, forming two battalions, commanded respectively by Majors Wyllys and Doughty, and a company of artillery under the command of Captain Ferguson, with three brass pieces, and eight hundred and thirty-three volunteers and militia from Pennsylvania and Kentucky.

On the third of October they formed a junction with Colonel Hardin. On the fifth they were joined by Lieutenant Frothingham of the federal troops, with a few soldiers, and also by Captain Hall with a reinforcement of Kentucky militia.* The army followed the trace made by General George Rogers Clark with his army in his expedition against the Indian towns in October, 1782, as far as the Piqua towns. The route pursued was through what is now the north-east part of

* Major Denny gives the number of the troops after this reinforcement, as follows:

3	battalions	Kentucky militia,	1,133
1	do	Pennsylvania militia,	
1	do	light troops mounted,	
2	do	of regular troops,	320
		Total,	1,453

—*Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol.* VIII, *p.* 346.

Hamilton county; thence passing near where the town of Lebanon now stands in Warren county, some distance west of Xenia in Greene county, crossing Mad river in a corner of Montgomery county, and the Great Miami a short distance above the Piqua towns; thence they had a tolerably good Indian trace to where there had been a large trading establishment called the "Old French Store," at St. Mary's, and a good Indian trace from that point to the Maumee towns.

The following is an account of the daily movements, order of march, and encampment of Harmar's army, as kept in a manuscript journal by Captain John Armstrong of the regular army:

September 30th, 1790.—The army moved from Fort Washington at half past ten o'clock A. M. Marched about seven miles north-east course. Hilly, rich land. Encamped on a branch of Mill creek.

October 1st.—Took up the line of march at half-past eight o'clock. Passed through a level rich country, watered by many small branches, waters of Mill creek. At two o'clock halted for one hour, and at four o'clock halted for the evening, on a small branch of Mill creek, having marched about eight miles. General course, a little to the westward of north.

October 2nd.—Moved forty-five minutes after seven o'clock, marched about ten miles a north-west course. The first five miles was over a dry ridge to a lick; then five miles through a low swampy country to a branch of the waters of the Little Miami where we halted one hour and forty-five minutes. After one o'clock moved on five miles further in north-east, east, and

south-east course, and encamped in a rich and extensive bottom on Muddy creek, a branch of the Little Miami. This day's march fifteen miles and one mile from Colonel Hardin's command.

October 3rd.—The army at eight o'clock passed Colonel Hardin's camp and halted at Turtle creek, about ten yards wide, where we were joined by Colonel Hardin's command. Here the line of march was formed—two miles.

October 4th.—The army moved at half-past nine o'clock. Passed through a rich country (some places broken) a north-east course, and at three o'clock crossed the Little Miami, about forty yards wide, moved up it one mile, a north course to a branch called Sugar creek; encamped—nine miles.

October 5th.—The army moved from Sugar creek forty-five minutes after nine o'clock; marched through a level country a north-east course, up the Little Miami, having it often in view. The latter part of this day's march through low glades, or marshy land. Halted at five o'clock on Glade creek, a very lively, clear stream—ten miles.

October 6th.—The army moved ten minutes after nine o'clock. The first five miles the country was bushy and somewhat broken. Reached Chillicothe, an old Indian village. Recrossed the Little Miami. At half-past one o'clock halted one hour, and encamped at four o'clock on a branch. Nine miles, a north-east course.

October 7th.—The army moved at ten o'clock. The country brushy four miles and a little broken until we came on the waters of the Great Miami. Passed through several low prairies, and crossed the Pickaway fork or Mad river, which is a clear, lively little stream about forty yards wide; the bottom extensive

and very rich. Encamped on a small branch one mile from the former. Our course the first four miles, north, then north-west. Nine miles.

October 8th.—The army moved at half-past nine o'clock. Passed over rich land, in some places a little broken. Passed several ponds, and through one small prairie. A north-west course. Seven miles.

October 9th.—The army moved at half-past nine o'clock. Passed through a level rich country, well watered. Course, north-west, halted half-past four o'clock, two miles south of the Great Miami. Ten miles.

October 10th.—The army moved forty-five minutes after nine o'clock; crossed the Great Miami. At the crossing there is a handsome high prairie on the south-east side; the river about forty yards wide. Two miles further, a north-west course, passed through a large prairie. Halted on a large branch of the Great Miami at half past three o'clock. The country level and rich; the general course, north-west. Ten miles.

October 11th.—The army moved at half past nine o'clock, marched a north-west course seven miles to a branch where French traders formerly had a number of trading houses, thence a north course four miles, to a small branch, and encamped at five o'clock. The country we passed over is very rich and level. Eleven miles.

October 12th.—The army moved at half past nine o'clock; our course a little to the west and north-west; crossed a stream at seven miles and a half, running north-east, on which there are several old camps, and much deadened timber, which continues to the river Auglaize, about a mile. Here has been a considerable village, some houses still standing. This stream is a branch of the Omi (Maumee) river, and is about twenty yards

wide. From this village to our encampment our course was a little to the north of west; rich, level land. Fourteen miles.

October 13th.—The army moved at ten o'clock; just before they marched a prisoner was brought in, and Mr. Morgan from Fort Washington joined us; we marched to the west north-west four miles to a small stream, through low swampy land, then a course a little to the north of west, passing through several small prairies and open woods, to an Indian village, on a pretty stream. Here we were joined by a detachment from Fort Washington, with ammunition. Ten miles.

October 14th.—At half past ten in the morning Colonel Hardin was detached for the Miami village, with one company of regulars and six hundred militia; and the army took up its line of march at eleven o'clock; a north-west course; four miles, a small branch. The country level, many places drowned lands in the winter season. Ten miles.

October 15th.—The army moved at eight o'clock, north-west course two miles, a small branch, then north a little west, crossing a stream, three miles north-west course. The army halted at half-past one o'clock, on a branch running west. Eight miles.

October 16th.—The army moved at forty-five minutes after eight o'clock, marched nine miles, and halted fifteen minutes after one o'clock. Passed over a level country, not very rich. Colonel Hardin with his command took possession of the Miami town yesterday, the fifteenth, at four o'clock, the Indians having left it just before. Nine miles.

October 17th.—The army moved at fifteen minutes after eight o'clock, and at one o'clock crossed the Maumee river to the village. The river is about seventy yards wide, a fine transparent stream. The river St. Joseph, which forms the point on which the vill-

age stood, is about twenty yards wide, and when the waters are high is navigable a great way up. (*Cist's Cincinnati Miscellany, vol.* 1, *p.* 195.)

Thomas Irwin, in his narrative, states that there were about one hundred and fifty of the Kentucky militia mounted. One-third of them were armed with swords and pistols, the others carried rifles. They had good horses, and being accustomed to the woods, were of great service in that campaign. When pack horses or beef cattle strayed away during the night, they would scour the surrounding woods the next morning, and generally bring them into camp. Sometimes they would rouse from their concealment lurking Indians who were watching the movements of the army. In consideration for these services they were exempted from camp duty at night.

On the morning of the 13th of October, when the army were within forty or fifty miles of the Miami Indian towns, the object of their destination, ten or twelve of the mounted Kentucky militia, who had been out in search of some pack horses which had strayed, captured a smart young Indian whom they took prisoner and brought into camp, where he was examined by two of the Kentuckians, who could speak the Indian language. He spoke freely and communicated everything he knew respecting the movements of the Indians. He stated that they had at first intended to make a stand and defend their towns; but, after holding a

council, they had abandoned that idea and had removed their families and property further down the Maumee river, intending to burn their houses and wigwams before the army should arrive. These statements were afterward found to be nearly true. When the main army arrived at the Indian town, they found that a large quantity of property had been taken down the Maumee river in canoes, and a considerable quantity of corn was buried in the ground. On the morning of the 14th of October, when within about forty miles of the Indian town, as was supposed, Colonel Hardin and Major Paul with six hundred men were detached, including one company of fifty men of the regular troops, commanded by Major Zeigler, with orders to proceed in advance of the main body and destroy the town in the forks of the Maumee. They arrived at the town at four o'clock of the afternoon of the next day (October 15th). But they found it abandoned by the Indians and the buildings burned. They remained on the ground until General Harmar with the main army arrived on the seventeenth. Being directed by the prisoner they examined the ground over which the buildings had been burned, and discovered large quantities of corn which had been buried for safe keeping.

The country around the junction of the St. Mary and St. Joseph rivers, was one of the principal Indian settlements in the western country. In this neighborhood they had seven villages, these were: First, the

Miami village, so called after the tribe of that name, corruptly and by contraction *Omee* from Aux Miami, the designation given it by the French traders, who resided there in considerable numbers. This town lay in the fork of the St. Joseph and Maumee rivers. Second, a village of the Miamies of thirty houses, *Kee-ki-ogue* (now Fort Wayne), in the fork of the St. Mary and Maumee rivers. Third, Chillicothe, a name signifying town, being a village of the Shawanoes, down the Maumee river on its north bank. It contained fifty-eight houses. Fourth, opposite the last-mentioned town, the Shawanoes had another village on the south side of the Maumee river, containing eighteen houses. Fifth and sixth, the Delawares had two villages on the St. Mary river, about three miles from its junction with the St. Joseph, one on each side of the river, containing forty-five houses. Seventh, the same tribe had another village on the east side of the St. Joseph river, two or three miles from its mouth, consisting of thirty-six houses.

The day (17th of October) that General Harmar and the army arrived at the Indian town, and joined Colonel Hardin, two Indians were discovered by a scouting party, as they were crossing a prairie in the vicinity. The scouts pursued and shot one of them, the other made his escape. A young man by the name of Johnson, seeing that the Indian was not dead, attempted to shoot him again, but his pistol not making fire, the

Indian raised his rifle and shot Johnson dead. The same night, the Indians, by some means, entered the camp and succeeded in driving through the lines between fifty and one hundred horses. A number of the soldiers were that day engaged in searching in the hazel thickets for hidden provisions. Large quantities of corn were found buried in the earth. During the evening Captain McClure and a Mr. McClary * fell upon a stratagem peculiar to backwoodsmen. They conveyed a horse a short distance down the river undiscovered, then fettering him, put on a bell and let him loose, concealing themselves with their rifles within shooting distance. It was not long before an Indian, attracted by the sound of the bell, came cautiously up and began to unfetter the horse, when McClure shot him. The report of the gun alarmed the camp and brought many of the troops to the place. The young Indian who had been taken prisoner a few days previous, was brought to see the Indian just killed; he pronounced him to be "Captain Punk—great man—Delaware chief." On the 18th of October, a detachment of three hundred men was ordered to be raised from the different companies, with a view to sending them out to see what discoveries they could make. Captain John Armstrong, with thirty soldiers of the regular troops, formed part of this detachment. There were also about twenty of the Kentucky mounted militia. Ensign Irwin and

*According to Major Denny—M'Quircy.

some others of his company, volunteered and joined the detachment. They were to draw two days' provisions as they were expected to be out all night. The command of the whole was confided to Colonel Trotter, of Lexington, Kentucky. The principal Indian town stood on the east side of the St. Joseph river, and had the appearance of a very old settlement. The detachment crossed the St. Joseph river about the center of where the town stood, and formed the line of march on the west bank of the river. They moved in three lines, having the mounted men on the flanks. There was a pretty good Indian trace from where they crossed the river, leading in a westerly direction, which they followed within about one mile of the river. On their advance, the mounted men on the flanks came upon two Indians and killed them both, losing one of their own men.

Following the trace until near sunset, they saw considerable Indian signs, though much scattered and none of them fresh. At sunset, the six-pounder in the camp of the main army was fired, and Colonel Trotter, who had command of the detachment, concluded this was a signal for their return. They consequently countermarched and got into camp some time after dark, where they lay during the night. This day the main body of the troops was moved to the village called Chillicothe, the principal town of the Shawanoes. Some intimations having been made that the conduct pursued by Colonel Trotter indicated more of prudence than belonged to its

true character, on the next morning, 19th of October, the same detachment was ordered out anew, and placed under the command of Colonel Hardin. They crossed the river at the same place they had done the day before. The river was low and the ford a good place for crossing. They soon struck a large Indian trace leading in a northerly direction, which they followed four or five miles, and found considerable fresh signs of the savages. Two or three Indian dogs got in among the troops, but discovering that they were not with their masters, disappeared. The direction pursued was nearly west. The numerous Indian signs indicating that they were in the neighborhood of the savages, Colonel Hardin ordered a halt, directing the different companies to take stations on the right and left of the trace, to sit down and make a hasty meal of the provisions which they had with them, but in the meantime to keep a sharp look out for Indians. Captain Faulkner's detachment of the Pennsylvania militia, to which Thomas Irwin belonged, was ordered to form on the left, which he did, taking a position around the point of a bushy grove, which threw them out of sight of the trace, although they were not far from it. Colonel Hardin sent Major Fontaine with ten or twelve mounted men forward, to reconnoiter, and see what they could discover. After traveling a short distance on the trace, they came to where it crossed a small stream of water; the banks being muddy on each side, showed plainly

the fresh tracks of Indians, who appeared to have been making a hasty retreat. The Major returned and reported accordingly. Colonel Hardin was so eager for pursuit, that he started off with the principal part of the troops in such a hurry that he neglected to communicate the order to Captain Faulkner's detachment which was posted on the left out of sight of the other troops. Captain Faulkner, after waiting a long time became impatient, and moved his detachment to the trace when he discovered that the others were gone. They then followed on. They had not gone far until they met Major Fontaine, who had returned to inform them of Colonel Hardin's movements. He thought the enemy was on the retreat as fast as they could, and he believed they could be soon overtaken, and excused the Colonel for neglecting to give them orders when the other troops marched. Captain Faulkner explained that they had been directed to halt until they should receive orders to march, but, as soon as they discovered that they were left, they pressed forward to overtake the main body. They then moved on at a quick pace and in a short time met two of the mounted men, riding at full speed, having each a wounded man behind him. They called out, "Retreat! retreat! The main body in front is entirely defeated, and there are Indians enough to eat us all up." Captain Faulkner and his party, however, moved on until they gained an elevated piece of ground, when they discovered our troops in

rapid retreat along the trace, the Indians in close pursuit shouting and yelling like demons. The party to which Ensign Irwin belonged, halted and formed a line across on each side of the trace, and secreted themselves behind trees, with the intention of giving the Indians a fire when they came up. The Indians came within about seventy yards when they halted suddenly. Colonels Hardin and Hall, Major Fontaine and four or five others on horseback stopped when they came up to where Captain Faulkner was posted, and remained with them until all the retreating troops had passed by. None of them halted except those on horseback just mentioned. When the Indians came up, the small party posted on each side of the trace gave them a fire which checked them for a moment, the party, then, under the direction of Colonels Hardin and Hall, marched back to camp, holding the Indians in check, and covering the retreat of the defeated troops. It was some time after dark when they reached the camp. The six-pounder was discharged every half hour during the night, until daylight, as a signal for the benefit of stragglers who were lost in the woods. They continued coming in until twelve or one o'clock in the night. Ensign Irwin, having been acquainted with Colonel Hall, in Bourbon county, Kentucky, and knowing that he was near the front of the troops at the time of the attack, called at his tent the next morning, in order to learn what had been the movements of the troops in

front and the circumstances that occurred on the day previous. Colonel Hall stated that the trace which they were pursuing passed through a narrow prairie with a heavy growth of timber and underbrush on each side. The Indians had shown every sign of making a hasty retreat, and our officers had urged the pursuit so rapidly that they had got into single file, and it was between a quarter and half a mile from the front to the rear. They moved forward until they discovered what they supposed to be the encampment of the enemy, which was flanked by a morass on each side, as well as one in front. This was crossed with great promptness by the troops, now reduced to less than two hundred men. At this spot, within a few feet of the trace, the Indians had kindled a large fire. Here the advance of the troops halted as they came up. At that moment, the Indians who were in ambuscade both on the front and flank, rose from their coverts and poured on them a deadly fire, so sudden and unexpected that it threw the militia of our troops into the utmost confusion, from which they could not be rallied. Fifty-two of them were killed in a few minutes. The regular soldiers under Captain John Armstrong bore the brunt of the fire in this affair. Captain Armstrong in his journal says they were "attacked by about one hundred Indians, fifteen miles west of the Miami village, and from the dastardly conduct of the militia, the troops were obliged to retreat. I lost one sergeant and twenty-

one out of thirty men of my command. The Indians on this occasion gained a complete victory, having killed nearly one hundred men, which was about their own number. Many of the militia threw away their arms without firing a shot, ran through the federal troops, and threw them into disorder. Many of the Indians must have been killed, as I saw my men bayonet many of them. They fought and died hard."

Colonel Hall told Mr. Irwin that Captain Faulkner's company saved more lives, and did more essential service, than they could have done if they had been up in the front line at the time of the action.

Captain Armstrong afterward frequently charged the militia with cowardice; that they should have returned the fire and charged upon the Indians when they first fired. Major Fontaine, of the Kentucky troops, indignantly repelled the charge and swore that if they got into another battle with the Indians, and he should be in it, that he would let them see that there were as good soldiers among the militia as among the regulars. He afterward nobly redeemed his pledge, in the engagement of the 22d of October, where he lost his life by rashly and imprudently rushing on a group of Indians.

The American troops on this occasion were led by brave and experienced officers; but it appears that the Indians set a trap for them, and our troops were completely caught in it. The force of the savages has been

variously stated. Judge Marshall, in his *Life of Washington*, states them at seven hundred: from what data does not appear. Captain Armstrong, who, I would think, has no reason to under-estimate their numbers, thought there were about one hundred in the action. The great success of the Indians was owing mainly to their ambuscade and the bad conduct of the militia, of which the detachment was principally made up. The scene of this disastrous defeat was about twelve miles west of where the town of Fort Wayne now is, near the spot where Goshen state road now crosses Eel river. The Indians remained on the field, and during the night held a dance of victory, exulting with frantic shouts and gestures over their dead and dying enemies.

The militia having retreated so suddenly left Captain Armstrong with his little band of thirty regulars to contend against the whole force of the Indians. They stood their ground, anticipating a rally of the militia, in which they were disappointed, so they were obliged to scatter and retreat each man for himself. Captain Armstrong, after shooting an Indian in the act of scalping the last man he had on the field, threw himself in the grass between an immense oak stump and log which had been blown down, where he remained about three hours until it became dark. At night the Indians commenced their war dance within gun-shot of where he lay. Desiring to sell his life as dearly as possible, he at one

time thought of attempting to shoot a chief whom he could distinguish by his dress and trinkets. He buried his watch and compass by the side of the log where he lay, saying to himself, "some honest fellow tilling this ground many years hence may find them, and these rascals sha n't have them." Finding, however, that he was unable to draw a *bead* by cloudy moonlight and the flickering glare of the fires, and thinking it possible that he might escape, in which case they would be useful to him, he dug them up again soon afterward. Being satisfied that there were Indians very near him and believing that they would prefer taking him prisoner to shooting him, should he be discovered, he cocked his rifle, thinking that he could wheel and fire before the Indians would attempt to shoot. An Indian near him began to rattle in the leaves and mimic ground-squirrels. The Captain moved cautiously, but on the third step was so distinctly discovered by the Indians, that the savage yell was given, when every thing was instantly silent at the dance. The Captain then took to his heels springing the grass as far as practicable to prevent tracking. After running a short distance he discovered a pond of water into which he immediately jumped, thinking they would be unable to track him there. He seated himself on a tussock of grass, with his gun on his shoulder, and the water up to his waist. He had not been in the pond five minutes when a large number of Indians, foot and horse, were around the pond hunting

for him: Using his own expression, "such yells I never heard. I suppose the Indians thought I was a wounded man, that their yells would scare me, and that I would run and they would catch me; but I thought to myself I would see them d——d first." The Indians continued their search for seven hours, until the moon went down, when they retired to their fires. Captain Armstrong says: "The ice was frozen to my clothes, and very much benumbed, I extricated myself from the pond, broke some sticks, and rubbed my thighs and legs to circulate the blood, and with some difficulty, at first, slowly made my way through the bush. Believing that the Indians would be traveling between their own and the American camp, I went at right angles from the trace about two miles, to a piece of rising ground, thinking to myself, as it is a cold night, if there are any Indians here, they will have fire; if I can't see theirs, they can't see mine, and fire is necessary for me. I went into a ravine where a large tree was blown up by the roots, kindled a fire, dried myself, and laid down and took a nap. In the morning I threw my fire into a puddle of water and started for camp."

Captain Armstrong, being a first-rate woodsman, and conversant with the Indian habits, when he came to open wood passed around it. In wet ground he walked on logs, and sometimes stepped backward to prevent being tracked. About half way from the battle ground to the American camp he discovered three Indians com-

ing along the path meeting him; he squatted in the hazel bushes about twenty steps from the trace and the Indians passed without discovering him. He said: "I never so much wished for two guns in my life. I was perfectly cool, could have taken the eye out of either of them, and with two guns should have killed two of them, and the other rascal would have run away; but with one gun thought it best not to make the attack, as the odds were against me three to one." On reaching the vicinity of the ground, where he had left the main army the day before, the day being now far spent, he expected soon to meet with those he had left there, but was suddenly arrested in his lonely march, by the commencement of a heavy battle, as he supposed, at the encampment. Hesitating for a moment, and then cautiously moving to a position from which he could overlook the camp; instead of seeing his associates in arms, from whom he had then been separated two days, a different scene was presented. The savages had full possession of the American camp-ground. "Is it possible," said he, "that the main army has been cut off?"

Having been two days without eating a mouthful of food, except the breakfast taken early in the morning of his leaving camp, he began to reflect what should be his future course. Much exhausted from fatigue, alone in the wilderness, far removed from any settlements, and surrounded by savages, the probability of his escape

was indeed slight, but duty to himself and his country soon determined him on the attempt. At this moment the sound of a cannon attracted his attention. He knew it was a signal to guide the lost men to the camp. So taking a circuit he passed in the direction from which the sound came, and arrived safely at the camp. The army had changed position, from the time he had left, to a point two miles lower down the creek, which presented ground more favorable for encampment. The dusk of the evening had arrived when he reached the camp, greatly to the surprise of his comrades, who had numbered him with the men who had fought their last fight. Captain Armstrong, in speaking of this engagement and the heavy loss in his command, always evinced much feeling, saying: "The men of my command were as brave as ever lived. I could have marched them to the mouth of a cannon without their flinching."

A curious circumstance was related by Mr. Irwin, which he said he heard frequently repeated by the person to whom it occurred. One of the Kentucky militia, when they commenced their retreat, ran through a bushy grove and at the opposite side crept into a large hollow log, feet foremost. The Indians had followed his trace but lost it before they came to the log. Two of them stood near the place where he was concealed, and he thought they were going to shoot into the hollow log at him. He called out pretty loud for them not to shoot. His voice (probably sounding unearthly from the hollow

log) alarmed them so much that they ran off, and he never saw them again. He came out of his hiding place, and reached the camp safely.

While the army remained at the site of the Miami villages, they destroyed all the property of the enemy within their reach. Three hundred houses and wigwams were burnt. There were several orchards containing a great number of large fruit trees about the villages which were girdled or cut down, and, at least, twenty thousand bushels of corn in the ear was collected and destroyed. Not a vestige of destructible improvement or useful property was spared. On the 21st day of October, the army broke up their camp at Chillicothe, and commenced their return march to Fort Washington. They marched about eight miles and encamped for the night. An officer and three mounted men had been posted on a high piece of ground a short distance from where the camp had been, on the site of the village, to watch the motions of the Indians. About two hours after the army had left the camp, the Indians began to come in by droves and commenced hunting for their hidden provisions, some of them kindling fires, while others conducted the search. The officer and men left behind to watch the movements of the Indians came up to the army a short time after dark, and informed General Harmar and Colonel Hardin of what they had seen. Colonel Hardin was anxious for another trial with the enemy to efface the stigma resting on the American

arms in consequence of the affair of the nineteenth. Orders were given to draft a force of four hundred men, of which three companies were mounted men, sixty regular soldiers under the command of Major Wyllys, and the residue militia men on foot. Ensign Irwin and seven men volunteered from Captain Faulkner's company. The detachment assembled immediately on the grand parade and were placed under the command of Colonel Hardin and Major Wyllys. The plan of the attack was arranged before the troops marched. It was, to surprise the Indians before daylight. They marched back on the trace by which the army had come, until they arrived at the eminence where the officer had been posted to watch the movements of the Indians. Here the force was divided into two parties. Colonel Hardin, with one party, took to the left, crossed the St. Mary's river near its junction with the St. Joseph's, and moved up on the west side of the St. Joseph's river until he came opposite to where the town had stood. The other party, under the command of Majors Wyllys, Fontaine, and M'Mullin, followed Harmar's trace and crossed the Maumee river at Harmar's ford. They were then but a short distance from the same place but on the opposite side. Daylight was beginning to appear. They halted a short time on the bank of the river with a view to form. Major Fontaine took the front with a few mounted men. There was a small hazel thicket that prevented them from seeing the

enemy. As soon as they turned the point of the hazel thicket, Major Fontaine found himself within a short distance of fifteen or twenty Indians sitting and lying around a fire. There was also a large number of Indians near the same place. The Major gave a yell and charged right in among them, fired both his pistols, and then drew his sword. Ten or twelve of the Indians discharged their guns at the Major all at once, at a distance of not more than eight or ten feet from him. By this time, Major Wyllys, with his regulars and Major M'Mullin with the militia, came up and charged and drove the Indians from their position. One of the Kentucky militia informed Ensign Irwin that when they drove the Indians from the ground Major Fontaine was still hanging on his horse, although dead. Two of his comrades took him off and put him either under the bank of the river or under an old log. That was the last of Major Fontaine; he was a brave and resolute officer.

The account of the attack made by Major Fontaine was received from George Adams,* who was near him at

*George Adams and another man had come down the Ohio river from Pittsburg in a canoe, with an express to General Harmar at Fort Washington. Harmar's army had marched a few days before they arrived. Governor St. Clair, who was there, wished Harmar to get the express, and proposed to furnish Adams with a good horse, saddle and bridle if he would follow the army. He agreed to the proposal and overtook the army in what is now Greene county, about fifty

the time. When the Major found that his troops would not charge with him, he called out to Adams, "Stick to me, my brave fellow."

When Major Wyllys with his regulars in the center and the militia on the wings came up, they drove the Indians down the bank into the river. Colonel Hardin and his men were on the opposite side of the river, and gave them a fire when they were in the water. However, as soon as the Indians who were encamped in the vicinity of the town discovered the approach of Colonel Hardin's men, they began to rally for fight; they rushed in from all quarters in great numbers and a severe engagement ensued. The desperation of the savages in the contest surpassed any thing previously known. They appeared to direct the principal fury of their attack against the regular soldiers. A portion of the Indians threw down their guns and rushed on the soldiers, tomahawk in hand, carrying rapid destruction everywhere in their progress. A number of the Indians

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miles from Fort Washington, and delivered the express to General Harmar. He joined the Kentucky mounted men, and continued with them until he got wounded at the time Major Fontaine was killed. He was close by the Major when the Indians discharged their guns at him. Adams discharged his rifle among them, but being badly wounded by the return fire of the Indians, he was obliged to withdraw. Mr. Irwin said he went to see him in the evening. He looked badly, and was very weak from the loss of blood before his wounds were dressed. After the second day he recruited very fast and got quite well.

were killed, but they were so far superior in numbers that our regulars were soon overpowered; for while the poor soldier had his bayonet in one Indian, two more would sink their tomahawks in his head. While this attack was going on, the rifles of the remaining Indians were fatally employed in picking off the officers and soldiers. The militia and all engaged behaved well on that memorable day, and received the thanks of General Harmar for their good conduct. Our forces maintained possession of the ground until all the Indians retired, and none were to be seen. Colonel Hardin and his men returned by the same route by which they had marched out. Major M'Mullin and his party, after remaining on his side of the river until the Indians had disappeared, marched back to the camp. They, however, had considerable running fighting with the enemy before they reached the camp, where they arrived about sunset.

Mr. Irwin thought that if they had had a force of four hundred more men from Harmar's command of those which were not needed in camp, they might have given the Indians the severest defeat they ever received in the western country, and that it would have been a credit and honor to the campaign, if General Harmar had marched his whole army back to the site of the Indian town, and remained there one day with a view of burying the dead and ascertaining how many of the enemy had been killed, instead of leaving the remains of the brave soldiers, who fell on that occasion, to be

scalped and mutilated by the Indians, and their bones to lie bleaching on the ground until four years afterwards, when General Wayne visited the spot and gave them a decent burial. How many were killed in this battle, Mr. Irwin said he never could ascertain. Of the eight men drafted from the company to which he belonged, two were killed. Of the sixty regular soldiers under the command of Major Wyllys, only nine escaped. Among the officers killed were Major Wyllys and Lieutenant Frothingham of the regular army. And of the militia, Major Fontaine, Captains Scott, Thorp, and M'Murtrie, Lieutenants Clark, and Rogers, Ensigns Sweet, Bridges, and Thielkeld were killed. The number of Indians killed never could be ascertained, but Mr. Irwin stated as his opinion that their loss on that occasion was very heavy. The following statement of the killed and wounded in this contest, has since come to my hands: "Killed of the regular troops, one major, one lieutenant, and seventy-three rank and file. Total, seventy-five. Wounded, three rank and file. Killed of the militia, one major, three captains, two lieutenants, four ensigns, and ninety-three rank and file. Total, one hundred and three. Wounded, two lieutenants, one ensign, and twenty-five rank and file. Total, twenty-eight." Thus it appears that there were one hundred and seventy-eight killed, and thirty-one wounded, more than one half of their whole number. The Indians, on this day, as well as in the battle of the

19th, were commanded by the celebrated Indian chief, Little Turtle. Their number was not known, but there is no doubt that the savages greatly outnumbered the whites opposed to them.

An affecting incident occurred at the place of crossing the river. A young Indian with his father and brother was crossing the river when a ball from the rifle of a white man passed through the body of the young Indian. The old man, seeing his boy fall, dropped his gun and attempted to raise his son, in order to carry him beyond reach. At this moment his other son was also shot by his side. The old man drew them both to the shore and then sat down between them, and with fearless composure, awaited the approach of the pursuing foe, who soon came up and killed him also.

On the evening of the same day of the battle, General Harmar issued the following characteristic order:

Camp, eight miles from the ruins of the Maumee towns, October 22d, 1790. The General is exceedingly pleased with the behavior of the militia in the action of this morning. They have laid very many of the enemy dead on the spot. Although our loss is great, still it is inconsiderable in comparison to the slaughter among the savages. Every account agrees that upwards of one hundred warriors fell in the battle. It is not more than man for man, and we can afford them two for one. The resolution and firm determined conduct of the militia this morning has effectually retrieved their character in the opinion of the General. He knows they can and will fight.

McArthur, formerly governor of the State of Ohio, relates the following circumstance, which tends to show the cool, undaunted courage of Thomas Irwin: Whilst his company was covering the retreat of the troops, and slowly retiring before the fire of the enemy, the strap which held his powder-horn was cut from his shoulder by a ball. As soon as he missed it, he faced about, ran back several paces in the full face of a considerable body of the enemy, secured his powder-horn, and then again joined his companions in their retreat. He was soon again observed to halt and commence picking the flint of his gun. McArthur, who was also along and close by him at the time, addressing him, said: "Damn it, come along, the Indians are upon us." Irwin coolly replied: "I want to get one more shot before I leave them."

The morning after the battle, on the 23d day of October, General Harmar sent Captains Welles and Gaines, both belonging to the Kentucky troops, as an express, bearing dispatches to Fort Washington. When they reached the bottoms of the Big Miami river, at a short turn in the trace which they were following, they very unexpectedly encountered five or six Indians coming toward them. On the instant, Captain Gaines wheeled to the left, and Captain Welles to the right, taking to the woods at their utmost speed. By the promptness of their movements they saved their lives. They each made a wide circuit from the trace which

they were pursuing. Welles got to the mouth of the Great Miami river and then went to Fort Washington. Captain Gaines reached the Ohio river near where Ripley now is and crossed to Kentucky.

The army took up its line of march for Fort Washington the same day and proceeded by slow and easy marches. They arrived at Fort Washington on the 3d day of November. The Indians pursued them, in sight of the army, almost the whole distance, without, however, committing any serious depredations. The Indian prisoners who were taken, were brought to Fort Washington, retained a while and then released and sent home. As soon as the army arrived at the fort the militia were disbanded and dismissed, and General Harmar left soon afterward for Philadelphia, the then seat of government. He resigned his command, and in September, 1791, obtained a court of inquiry which acquitted him of all blame. He then retired to his residence on the banks of the Schuylkill in Pennsylvania, where he lived in comparative obscurity until his death, which happened in 1803. His funeral was conducted with great military pomp, his horse being dressed in mourning, and his sword and pistols laid upon his coffin, which was borne to the place of interment on a bier—hearses not being in use in those days.

After the militia was disbanded on the return of General Harmar, Mr. Irwin remained in Cincinnati during the ensuing winter and summer.

Mr. Irwin gives the following account of the attack on Dunlap's Station:

Between the first and ninth days of January, 1791, an army of more than two hundred Indians surprised the station. So secret had been their movements that they had approached without discovery within fifty yards of the fort. At the period of their approach the weather was excessively cold, and one of the settlers had gone out at sunrise to cut wood for a fire, and was in the act of getting it in when he discovered the savages within a few rods' distance. He dropped the wood, ran into the fort, and spread the alarm instantly. Lieutenant Kingsbury and his men were just turning out to morning parade.

There were two gates to the fort. To the defense of the small one he assigned two or three men, and with the other seven or eight repaired to the large gate. The Indians appeared in compact order, and received a general volley, which constrained them to draw off. They retreated among the corn, and kept up the contest afterward at a distance.

As the enemy surrounded the fort, there was no chance of despatching an express for aid. In this difficulty they were providentially extricated by the circumstance that a hunter named *Cox*, who resided at *Ludlow's Station* on *Mill creek*, had been out hunting the day before, and finding game abundant at a spot five or six miles of the fort, encamped over night. The morning being then clear and still, he heard the firing distinctly, and deciding as to the cause in his own mind, he started to Cincinnati and informed Governor St. Clair, who was there at the time, of the danger to the settlers.

A volunteer force of 25 or 30 men of which I was one, being in Cincinnati at the time, turned out immediately. About

the same number of regulars were detached from the garrison, the whole being placed under command of *Captain Truman*, and about 30 persons more from Columbia volunteered, on receipt of the news, to start early next morning.

The Indians had left, however, before the troops reached the station. On looking around we found lying dead two of the savages, and a white man named Hunt, who had been taken prisoner by the enemy the day before. He was a brother of *Col. Ralph Hunt*, of *New Jersey*, and had been out looking for land. He had been killed about 30 rods from the fort.

No person was killed or lost in the fort. The enemy did all they could to injure the settlers by destroying the corn, and opening their turnip and potato holes, so as to expose them to the frost. Two Indians who had been killed, were found afterward. A small garrison was kept up at Dunlap's Station, until Wayne's treaty gave peace to the frontiers.

We returned to Fort Washington the second day. The Indians had dispersed in small parties to their homes."

The following early reminiscences of Cincinnati were furnished me by Mr. Irwin. William McMillan was the first magistrate that performed the marriage ceremony in Cincinnati. He married two couples in the year 1790, and several couples in the ensuing year. The first couple that he married were Daniel Shoemaker and Miss Elsy Ross. The next were Darius Curtis Orcutt and Miss Sally McHenry. Mr. Orcutt was a pack-horse master on St. Clair's campaign, and was with the army at the time of its defeat on the 4th of November, 1791. Darius C. Orcutt subsequently settled in

Hamilton and built a hewed log-house on lot number one hundred and forty-five, fronting the Miami river north of Dayton street. It was afterward weather-boarded. It formed a part of the building in which the late Major William Murray resided and kept a tavern for many years. It is yet standing (1854) but in a very dilapidated condition, and now about to be removed in consequence of the works of the Hydraulic Canal Company encroaching on the site. Mr. Orcutt afterward lived a long time in Rossville, was a constable of St. Clair township many years, and finally died in the vicinity of Hamilton in indigent circumstances. The next couple married were Peter Cox and Miss Frances McHenry. Not long after their marriage, Mr. Cox was killed by the Indians on the Hamilton road, eight or ten miles from Cincinnati. His widow married Mr. Mitchell, who subsequently lived on Indian Creek in Butler county, and was a justice of the peace.

When St. Clair's army moved on their expedition, the citizens and hunters concluded that there would be no danger, as they believed the Indians would be watching the movements of the army. Such, however, was not the case, as the Indians continued to prowl about the settlement and kept the people in constant alarm. Matthew Fowler was killed within one mile of Fort Hamilton. He and his brother Edward were in company. They had two horses with them loaded with venison and deerskins. Edward made his escape on

foot, but the horses and their loads fell into the hands of the Indians. A man named Scott Traverse, who resided at Cincinnati, owned an ox-team and a wagon, which he employed in transporting provisions and stores to the army after they moved on the expedition. He would sometimes pass alone, without waiting for an escort, although often cautioned against his foolhardiness, but go he would, when he was ready, escort or no escort. He prided himself on his good fortune. At last on one of his trips he was overtaken by the Indians near Fort Hamilton and himself and his oxen killed, his wagon burned and the loading carried off or destroyed. This was while General St. Clair was out on his expedition. John Ludlow was the first acting sheriff of Hamilton county. At Cincinnati there was a man convicted of murder in the first degree, and he was obliged to put the rope round his neck and hang him. Thomas Gowdy was the first practicing lawyer settled at Cincinnati. He put up a small frame building on the second bank near Main street, for an office, but never occupied it, as it was found to be too far out of town for business purposes. Shortly afterward William McMillan and Ezra Fitz Freeman commenced the practice of the law there. The Reverend James Kemper, a clergyman of the Presbyterian church, was the first minister in Cincinnati. He came from Kentucky and preached there in 1790, and removed to Cincinnati in April or May following. In the year 1792, John Smith, a Bap-

tist clergyman, who then lived in Columbia, preached there occasionally.

All negotiations to effect a peace with the Indians having failed, Congress, on the 3d of March, 1791, passed an act providing for the defense of the western frontiers, and on the 4th of March, Arthur St. Clair, then governor of the North-west Territory was appointed and commissioned a major-general, and invested with the chief command of the troops then being raised, to be employed against the hostile Indians of the west. General St. Clair was at Philadelphia at that time. He started west on the 28th of March and arrived at Pittsburg on the 16th of April, whence, in order to obtain the assistance of the militia, he went to Lexington, Kentucky, and arrived at Fort Washington, Cincinnati, on the 15th of May, 1791. Brigadier-General Richard Butler was appointed second in command, and was charged with the arrangements necessary for the recruiting service. He established a rendezvous at Baltimore, and several points in Pennsylvania. Those enlisted east of the mountains assembled at Carlisle, where they were disciplined and prepared to march for the west.

On the seventh day of August, all the troops that had arrived at Fort Washington, except the artificers and a small garrison for the fort, moved to Ludlow's Station on Mill creek, six miles north of Cincinnati, in order to obtain from the woods forage for the horses, that about Fort Washington being entirely consumed,

and to await the arrival of General Butler and the troops which were expected from the east. About the first of September, 1791, Thomas Irwin volunteered and joined the army. He was engaged as one of the wagoners who had charge of the gun-carriages for transporting the cannon. The army moved from Ludlow's Station on the 17th of September, and marched under the command of Colonel William Darke to the Great Miami river, where the town of Hamilton now is. They encamped about half a mile below the present site of the town, at the head of a prairie. All that tract of land lying between the pond and the Miami river, now owned by John Woods and Sigismund Wurmser, was at that time a natural prairie covered with a luxuriant growth of tall grass. There were two companies that had charge of the artillery wagons, Mr. Irwin belonging to one of these companies. They lay at this camp until the fort was built, or, at least, so far completed as to be in condition to receive a garrison. On the 30th of September two pieces of artillery were placed on the platforms at two angles of the fort; a salute was fired, and it was named Fort Hamilton, in honor of Alexander Hamilton, then secretary of the treasury. The upper part of the fort was nearly opposite where the upper side of the Miami bridge now is; the lower part about where the Associate Reformed church stands; including the space covered by the present market-house, and the adjacent buildings.

Mr. Irwin said that the side of the fort next the river was built up with half-faced cabins with a high front, furnished with good rooms for quarters for the soldiers. The officers' quarters was a house inside the fort. There were platforms put up on two of the block-houses at the angles of the fort, the floors of which were somewhat higher than the top of the pickets, on which to place cannon to command the surrounding country and the ford of the river. There were also sentry-boxes at the angles of the fort. Mr. Irwin said that one day while encamped here, he went out hunting. He pursued a north-east course from the fort, nearly in the direction of the road to Middletown. He found the undergrowth so thick that he had great difficulty in making his way through it, and as the brush afforded a good ambush for the Indians he concluded it was safest to abandon his hunt. The brush was not so thick east of where they lay in camp. The principal growth of timber was hickory, though there was a mixture of some other kinds.

General Richard Butler, second in command, and Captain Denny, aide-de-camp to General St. Clair, joined the army at Fort Hamilton on the 27th of September. On the first and second days of October, the whole army was mustered and reviewed by General St. Clair, and inspected by Colonel Mentgetz, inspector of the army. The whole force amounted to two thousand three hundred non-commissioned officers and privates

fit for duty. A small detachment from the army was made, to be left in garrison at Fort Hamilton, which was committed to the command of Captain John Armstrong.

On the 2d of October General St. Clair issued an order that the army was to march on the next day, directing the order in which they were to move, to encamp and to form in line of battle in case of an attack. He then returned to Fort Washington in order to organize some militia which had just arrived from Kentucky. On the 4th of October the army was put in motion and commenced their march into the wilderness, being led by General Butler. They crossed the Miami river at a ford opposite the lower part of the town of Hamilton, about where the junction railroad bridge now is. They crossed the river by wading. Caleb Atwater, in his *History of Ohio*, states that in St. Clair's defeat, at the commencement of the action, there were two hundred and fifty women with the army, of whom fifty-six were killed in the battle. Mr. Irwin thought there was not near that number with the army. At Hamilton, General St. Clair issued an order to prohibit the women from proceeding with the army except a few, some two or three to each company. However, many of the women disregarded the order, and when the men commenced crossing the river, they also plunged into the stream, but the water being deep their progress was considerably obstructed by their clothes.

Many of them got out of the water on to the artillery carriages and rode over astride of the cannon. The first day the army marched only one mile and a half to Two-mile creek and encamped on lands afterward owned by William McClellan. The next day, October 5th, they marched two miles over the hill, about where the old Eaton road runs, to Four-mile creek, and encamped in the bottom, near where the Fear-not mill has since been built. On the 6th of October they marched to Seven-mile creek and encamped in the bottom on the east side of the creek. They gave those streams which they crossed, names corresponding with the distance measured from Fort Hamilton to the place where they crossed them. The army continued its march north, passing near where the east line of Milford township, in Butler county, now is. On the 8th of October, General St. Clair arrived at the camp and took command. John S. Gano, afterward general, and for many years clerk of the court of Hamilton county, was the surveyor who preceded the army, taking the courses with a compass and measuring the distance with a chain. Jacob Fowler, who had been a hunter with the army, was appointed an assistant surveyor. On the 13th of October, the army had advanced forty-four miles from Fort Hamilton, where, in the opinion of the General, a suitable position presented for another post of defense. The army halted and encamped in two lines. The artillery and cavalry were divided upon the two flanks,

and the riflemen without them at right angles. The outlines of a fort were laid out and the work was commenced, and prosecuted with vigor, so that by the 24th of October, the houses were all covered, the platforms laid in the bastions, and the work so far advanced that it was considered that it might be completed by the troops who were to be left in charge of it. The fort was thirty-five yards square, with four good bastions, one at each corner, and constructed of large hewed timber laid horizontally, the curtains of the work forming the outer walls of the barracks.

On the 22d of October, Mr. Ellis, with sixty militia from Kentucky joined the army and brought a quantity of flour and beef. On the 23d of October, two men were discovered in the act of deserting to the enemy. They were taken and convicted, and another man was found guilty of shooting a soldier, and threatening to kill his officer. They were all three hung on the grand parade, the whole army being drawn out. On the 24th of October, two pieces of artillery were placed in the fort, a salute was fired, and it was named Fort Jefferson. A detachment was detailed to garrison the place, which was placed under the command of Captain Shaler of the second regiment. The army was then mustered and found to consist of one thousand seven hundred non-commissioned officers and privates fit for duty. On the next day, October 25th, the army took up their line of march and moved six miles to Greenville creek, and encamped on

the bank of the creek where the town of Greenville now is. General St. Clair had been indisposed for some days past with what at times appeared to be a bilious colic, sometimes a rheumatic asthma, and at other times symptoms of the gout. This day he was so ill that it was with much difficulty he kept up with the army. Very heavy rain fell during the night. The army remained in the encampment five days, part of the time employed in building a bridge over the creek; but the principal cause of delay was, waiting for the arrival of provisions. At this time the army had not more than three days' supply of flour with them. They had for several days been on one-half and sometimes one-fourth allowance of that article; the deficiency of which was made up by increasing the quantity of beef, with which they were plentifully supplied. The officers were restricted to a single ration. One day, during the time the army lay at Greenville, Captain Lemon, of Kentucky, and a party of militia were sent out on a reconnoitering expedition, to see what discoveries they could make. Jacob Fowler, the assistant surveyor, and two trusty scouts were attached to the party. They were directed to proceed north-westerly for about twenty miles, and then return and report what discoveries they had made. Early in the morning the party set out on their expedition. Their route lay over rich, wet land, on which the weeds were near breast high. When they had accomplished nearly their allotted distance, they

espied a smoke, and before they were aware came on a small party of Indians, seated around a fire. The high weeds served to conceal the parties from each other. Jacob Fowler and the two scouts crept cautiously up to reconnoiter. Having previously arranged their mode of proceeding, one of the scouts was dispatched back to Captain Lemon with the understanding that as soon as his party heard the scouts who were in advance, fire, they should rush up to their support. The other scout and Fowler concealed themselves behind a large white oak tree not exceeding forty yards from where the Indians were. The tree was five or six feet in diameter, affording ample room for concealment and protection to both. While Fowler and his companion were preparing and steadying their rifles to fire on the Indians, one of the Kentuckians in the rear fired into what he must have judged from the smoke was the place where the Indians were; but the distance was so great as to make it a random shot. The Indians, five in number, disappeared in an instant. The whites pursued as far as they could, but the Indians being unincumbered and running for their lives, made their escape. On examining their camp, they found venison stuck up on sticks all around the fire, roasting; lying round were moccasins, leggings, blankets, and even some of their shot pouches which they had left, upon their springing up, so effectual had been their surprise. The articles captured, valued at more than twenty dollars,

were brought into camp and divided among the party. Several guns were now heard fired in front, which were immediately answered by the firing of a great number of guns. The party concluded that if they wanted to find Indians they need not go a step further, and that if they valued their lives they had not a minute to lose in making their escape as soon as possible. For they were convinced that a large body of Indians, more than a hundred as they judged by the sound and direction of the firing, were just at their elbows. It being now late in the evening, they hastily gathered up the Indians' venison, that was cooking at the fire and commenced a retreat. To have returned by the track which they had made by their way out would have beaten such a trace as would have enabled the Indians to follow them even after dark. They, therefore, took a course due west, which they pursued until ten o'clock at night, when they left six of their party concealed behind a log to watch if they were pursued by the Indians. The rest of the party went on a short distance further and encamped for the night. The party left in the rear were instructed to maintain their position until midnight, and if by that time they saw or heard nothing to alarm them they should join those in advance, who would have their share of the venison cooked and ready for them. Shortly after midnight the party left in the rear came up, no Indians having made their appearance. They then concluded that the Indians were waiting for

daylight in order to be able to follow their trail. As soon as day dawned they pursued their course to the camp of the main army. A short distance from camp they met five Kentucky militia who were going out on a hunting excursion. They advised them to return, alleging that the Indians were in large force, and they did not know how near they might be. They paid no regard to this friendly advice but proceeded on their way. They, however, had not gone far until they were fired on, and four out of the five were killed by the savages.

On the 27th of October, Piamingo (or the Mountain Leader), a Cherokee chief, with his band of warriors, arrived in the camp and remained with the army until the 29th; when, accompanied by Captain Sparks, of Major Clark's battalion, and four good riflemen, they went out on a scouting party, not intending to return under ten days, unless they succeeded in taking prisoners. They did not return until after the battle.

On the 28th of October, a few Indians were discovered in the neighborhood of the camp. Two privates were fired upon within about three miles from the camp. One was killed, and the other, who was wounded, managed to reach the camp but died afterward. Two militia men who were out in another direction were fired upon by the Indians; one of them escaped and got into camp, the other was taken prisoner. On the 30th of October, at nine o'clock in the morning, the army

left their encampment at Greenville creek and moved forward along an Indian trail. After following it some distance it appeared to bear too much to the north; they left it and proceeded more to the west. With much difficulty the army marched seven miles this day. On the morning of the 31st of October, it was discovered that sixty of the Kentucky militia had deserted and gone off in a body. Colonel Hamtramck, with the first regiment, was ordered to pursue them for the purpose of bringing them back, and to protect the provisions then on the way to the army. There being no beef killed, Colonel Hamtramck and his command did not march until the evening. The army remained in camp this day. On the 1st of November, the army marched but a short distance and encamped early in the afternoon, in order to give the road-cutters an opportunity of getting some distance ahead. On the 2d of November the army marched seven miles and encamped. Early on the morning of the 3d of November, the army continued their march until about three o'clock in the afternoon, when they arrived at a place which Samuel Hodgdon, quartermaster-general to the army, had marked out for the encampment. It was a situation of which General St. Clair did not approve. A halt was made, and Captain Butler, then acting as assistant-quartermaster, was sent forward to select a more suitable place for the purpose, where there was water. He returned with the information that he had gone forward

about three miles and could find none. Mr. Buntin was then ordered to proceed further than Captain Butler had gone, and make a further examination. After he had been absent a considerable time, General St. Clair became uneasy at the delay, and he, accompanied by General Butler, rode forward, that they might themselves judge of the situation of the ground. After proceeding about two miles they met Mr. Buntin returning. He informed them that he had found an excellent situation for a camp, near a creek about a mile and a half further on. They rode on to the place and being perfectly satisfied with it, sent back orders for the troops to move on. The army had then about four miles to march before they came to the place, so that with the delay that had been made, it was after dark when they got their tents pitched and fires kindled. The encampment was on the bank of a creek, twelve yards wide, running in a south-westerly direction. The ground was nearly level and covered with a heavy growth of timber. The stream was then believed by the army to be the head of the St. Mary's river, which empties into the Maumee (the Miami of the Lakes). It was, however, a branch of the head waters of the Wabash river. General St. Clair supposed that they were within about fifteen miles of the Miami towns. In this he was mistaken, as they were more than fifty miles from the Indian towns at the junction of the St. Mary's and St. Joseph's rivers. The army was encamped in two lines, having the creek

in front. The right wing, composed of Majors Butler, Clark, and Patterson's battalions, commanded by General Butler, formed the first line. The left wing, consisting of Majors Bedinger and Guthrie's battalions, and the second regiment commanded by Colonel Darke, formed the second line, with a space of about seventy yards between the two lines. There were two rows of fires made of logs between the lines. The whole camp was about three hundred and fifty yards in length. The right flank was protected by the creek which had a steep bank, and by Captain Faulkner's corps. The left flank was covered by some cavalry and their pickets. The Kentucky militia under the command of Colonel Oldham, amounting to about two hundred and seventy, were thrown across the creek and advanced about eighty rods in front of the main army. They were also encamped in two lines and had two rows of log fires. The whole force of the army at this time amounted to about one thousand four hundred effective men. There were three or four inches of snow on the ground. It was the constant practice to have the whole army paraded and under arms and the roll called a considerable time before daylight. On the morning of the 4th of November the reveille beat early and the troops were on parade in order of battle two hours before daylight. They had just been dismissed and gone to their tents to prepare their breakfast, when about half an hour before sunrise, the Indians attacked the advance camp of the Kentucky

militia with great fury. The drums immediately beat to arms as soon as the firing was heard, and the troops were in a few minutes assembled and drawn up in order of battle.

The advance camp of the militia immediately gave way on being attacked. Some of them fired a few shots, the greater number, however, did not fire a gun, but instantly fled, rushing across the creek into the camp of the regulars, with the Indians close at their heels; Colonel Oldham, under whose command they were, following close in their rear, waving his sword, calling them cowardly rascals, and ordering them to stop. But they paid no attention to his orders. Colonel Oldham was killed early in the action, in the camp of the regulars, near where the artillery stood. When the militia fled before the Indians, they rushed quite through the first line of the regulars and threw Major Butler's and part of Major Clark's battalions into considerable disorder, which, notwithstanding the exertions of those officers, was never altogether remedied. Major Ferguson, who commanded the artillery, fired his cannon on the Indians who were pursuing the flying militia, which, with a fire from the first line, checked them and put them into considerable confusion. But they were soon rallied by their leader, who appeared on horseback dressed in a red coat. A very heavy attack now commenced on the first line. The action became warm, and the enemy passing round the first line, at-

tacked the second line, and in fifteen minutes from the commencement of the attack, the whole army was surrounded by the Indians. They fired from the ground, among the grass, and from every tree and log in the vicinity. They were only seen when dodging from one covert to another. The artillery, near which Thomas Irwin was posted, was in the center of each wing. Against this the great weight of the attack was directed. The enemy, impelled to vigorous exertions by all the motives which operate on the savage mind, rushed up boldly, tomahawks in hand, to the very mouths of the cannon, and fought with the daring courage of men whose trade is war. The artillerymen were driven from their posts with great slaughter, and two pieces of cannon captured by the enemy.

While our soldiers were every moment falling by the bullets of the enemy, little impression was made by the fire of the white troops upon the Indians, and confusion evidently beginning to prevail among the soldiers in consequence of their severe loss in men, General St. Clair ordered Colonel Darke, at the head of the second line which he commanded, to charge the enemy with the bayonet, to rouse them from their coverts and endeavor to turn their left flank. The order was instantly obeyed by Colonel Darke with about three hundred men, and executed with great spirit and apparently with great effect. When the charge was made, the Indians gave way. Swarms of dusky bodies were seen rising from

the high grass and fleeing before the white man with every mark of consternation. The artillery was retaken and the Indians driven across the creek out of sight, about eighty rods, when the Colonel halted and rallied his men. In the mean time the Indians kept up a fatal fire on the other portions of the army, and had closed up the gap which had been made by the charge. Colonel Darke then rode to the rear and gave the order to march back, which they did through the mass of Indians, those they had driven back following and keeping up a deadly fire in their rear. When they arrived at where the artillery and baggage wagons stood, they found them in the possession of the Indians, and surrounded by them in great numbers. By this time there were not more than thirty or forty of Colonel Darke's command left standing; the rest had been shot down and were lying around, either killed or wounded. To avoid being all cut down immediately, Colonel Darke waved his sword and ordered the little band he had remaining to charge a second time. Fortunately, at the same time, a charge was made with the bayonet on the other side by the battalions commanded by Majors Thomas Butler, and Clark. This second charge was made with the same impetuosity as the first and with the same success. The artillery was again retaken; that particular point relieved, for a time, but the principal weight of the fire was transferred to the center of the first line, with such fatal effect that it threatened to

annihilate every thing within its range. General St. Clair ordered up the whole train of artillery, in order to sweep the bushes with grape-shot; but the horses and artillerymen were soon destroyed by the terrible fire of the enemy, before any effect could be produced: and every officer belonging to it killed except Captain Ford, who was badly wounded. The artillery was instantly manned afresh from the infantry, and again swept of its defenders and entirely silenced. When the charges were made with the bayonet, they were always attended with success; but for want of a sufficient number of riflemen to pursue the advantage, the regulars were compelled, in their turn, to give way and return to their position, the Indians pursuing them. There was but one company of riflemen in the army, which was posted on the right, where it kept the enemy in check. Some of the militia were armed with rifles, but they were panic-stricken and did little service. In the second charge, Major Thomas Butler was dangerously wounded by a ball breaking his thigh. He, however, remained on horseback at his post during the action. Every officer of the second regiment fell except three, one of whom, Mr. Creaton, was wounded by a shot through the body.

Mr. Irwin stated that during the early part of the action, General St. Clair and General Butler were continually going up and down the lines. As one of them went up one line, the other was going down the other

line. About an hour after the charge made by Major Thomas Butler's battalion, General Richard Butler was mortally wounded, when passing on the left of that battalion. Four soldiers put him into a blanket and carried him back to the battalion to have his wounds dressed by a surgeon. They placed him in a sitting position on the blanket, leaning against a tree. He was vomiting blood at the time. Almost immediately afterward, while the surgeon was examining General Butler's wounds, a single Indian who had penetrated the ranks of the regiment, darted forward and tomahawked and scalped the General before his attendants were aware and could interfere.

Thomas Irwin, who had frequent opportunities of seeing General St. Clair during the battle, said that he did not wear his uniform on that day. He wore a rough capped blanket coat and a three-cornered hat. He had a long queue and large locks, very gray, flowing beneath his beaver. Early in the action, as he was passing near where the artillery stood, a ball grazed the side of his face and cut off a portion of one of his locks, but did not cut the skin. Of this, Thomas Irwin, who was close by, was an eye-witness. "That was a near go," says Captain Ford, addressing Mr. Irwin. It was said that eight balls passed through General St. Clair's clothes that day, although his body remained untouched.

The slaughter had now become prodigious. Four-fifths of the officers and one-half of the men were

either killed or wounded. The fire of the enemy still continued with unabated fury, and the men were falling before it in every part of the camp. The ground was covered with the bodies of the dead and dying, the freshly-scalped heads were reeking with smoke, and in the heavy morning frost (as one who was present expressed himself) looked like so many pumpkins in a corn-field in December. And the little ravine that led to the creek was actually running with blood. The men were evidently disheartened. While the battle raged at one place, at another point might be seen a party of soldiers grouped together around the fires, doing nothing but presenting mere marks for the enemy. They appeared stupefied and bewildered with the danger. At another point the soldiers had broken into the marquees of the officers, and were eating the breakfast from which others had been called into battle. It must be recollected that neither officers nor men had eaten any thing the whole morning. Some of the men were shot down in the very act of eating. Under these circumstances, General St. Clair determined to save the lives of the survivors, if possible, and for that purpose collected the remnants of several battalions and formed them into one corps, as well as circumstances would admit, toward the right of the encampment. These were placed under the command of Colonel Darke, and ordered to make a charge upon the enemy in order to regain the road from which they were cut off, and open

a passage for the remainder of the army. The order was executed with promptness, and the enemy driven about a quarter of a mile and the road regained. A retreat was then ordered, when the remainder of the army rushed through the opening and gained the road. The militia, pressing like a drove of bullocks, took the way first, followed by the other troops. Major Clark, with the remnant of his battalion, attempted to cover the rear of the retreating army, and keep the Indians in check, but with little success. Thomas Irwin was near the front when the retreat commenced, but for some cause was delayed and fell nearly in the rear. The savages were in full chase and scarce thirty yards behind him. He exerted himself to place a more respectable distance between him and the pursuing foe, although it required considerable caution to avoid the bayonets of the guns which the men had thrown off in their retreat with the sharp points toward the pursuers, great numbers of men having thrown away their arms and ran with all their might. The Indians pursued them about four miles, and even after the pursuit had ceased, many of them threw away their guns in order to facilitate their escape. The Indians, after they would fire upon the retreating soldiers, stopped to load their rifles and then regained lost time by running on afresh.

The battle began half an hour before sunrise, and the retreat commenced about ten o'clock. They reached Fort Jefferson a little before dark in miserable plight,

having eaten nothing since the day before, and found no provisions in the fort to satisfy their hunger. At ten o'clock they pursued their march for Fort Hamilton, marching all night. On the day before the battle the ground was covered with snow, which had melted and the flat ground was now covered with water frozen over, the ice about an eighth of an inch thick, which made the march, splashing through the water and ice, and among the roots of the trees, in the night, very fatiguing. On the succeeding day, they met the convoy with a quantity of flour, part of which was immediately distributed among the men. A fire was soon kindled and ash cakes prepared and baked, which served to appease their hunger for the time. That night they encamped on Seven-mile creek, and the next day, November 6th, at noon, arrived at Fort Hamilton. The remnants of the army remained at Fort Hamilton that day and the next to have the wounded cared for, and to rest and recruit themselves after the fatigue and hardships they had undergone. On the morning of the 8th of November, they marched for Fort Washington, where they arrived on the evening of the same day. The whole number of effective men under the command of General St. Clair, on the morning of the battle, was about one thousand four hundred. Of these, the number of commissioned officers killed on the battlefield was thirty-eight, and thirty-one commissioned officers were wounded, several of whom afterward died

of their wounds. Five hundred and ninety-three non-commissioned officers and privates were killed and two hundred and fourteen wounded, many of whom also died of their wounds. Thomas Irwin was employed with the artillery on the day of the battle, and was consequently exposed in the thickest of the fight, where he remained at his post during the whole of the action, and though that arm of the force lost nearly every man, he escaped without a wound. The Indians pursued the flying troops about four miles, when they returned to the field of battle to glut their vengeance on the bodies of the dead and dying. All the wounded who were yet living, lying on the ground, were immediately tomahawked and scalped. Not a single person was taken prisoner and preserved alive.

The following extract from one of several of Mr. Irwin's letters, in which he describes this battle, dated October 10, 1844, is here inserted in his own words, as it may be interesting to many:

It was the opinion of the General and his officers that the Indians would not attack the army where there were so many cannon with them. There were three six-pounders and three smaller ones. On the day before the battle, about four miles on this side, there was a general halt; something got wrong. The weather was cold. During the stay, us wagoners in front kindled up a large fire. The General, and a number of officers collected around it to warm themselves. They chatted on several subjects; one was, our whereabouts. The general opinion

was, that we had passed over the dividing ridge, between the waters of the Miami and St. Mary's, and were then on the waters of the St. Mary's. Colonel Sargeant, who had been in front, came up while they were chatting, and informed them that the advanced guards had chased four or five Indians from a fire out of a thicket, and got a part of a venison at the fire. The chat turned upon the movements of the Indians, as there had been more seen that day than on any day previous. The General observed that he did not think the Indians were watching the army with a view to attack them. The officers present concurred with him in that opinion. We marched from there about two miles, halted to encamp; an express came up from the front guard, stated that they had got a fine running stream and a good place to encamp at. We started and got there about sunset. I expect it was near eight o'clock before the troops got fixed for lodging and cooking their scanty mess of provisions.

There were several guns fired that night by the sentries. Our orders were to have the horses up early in the morning. We had to pass through the sentries. They informed us that the Indians had been around part of the camp nearly all night. We got part of the horses and part were stolen by the Indians. The Kentucky militia, perhaps about three hundred, were encamped about forty rods in advance, on the opposite side of the creek. The army was encamped in a hollow square, on this side of the creek. The three six-pounders were on the left, on the bank of the creek. The two lines were about fifty or sixty yards apart, so that the rear could come to the creek for water. A small ravine put into the creek a short distance on the left from where the six-pounders were.

About sunrise on the fourth, one gun was discharged some distance in front of the Kentucky militia; in two minutes after-

ward there were upward of fifty discharged, a yell raised, and charge made on the militia. They retreated into the camp, the Indians in pursuit. When the Indians came within, perhaps, sixty rods of the creek, they wheeled to the right and left with a view to surround the army, which they did in a very short time. After they got around, I think, within one hour and a half, they had killed and wounded every officer and soldier belonging to the artillery. After the artillery was silenced, I think the battle continued another hour and a half. During the time, there were several charges made, but I think neither of them advanced more than forty steps until they returned. A retreat was ordered to be beat, which was done by a drummer, but not understood. George Adams,* who acted so noble a part at Harmar's defeat, was in this campaign, I think, as a spy. St. Clair placed great confidence in him for former services. He was with the General a short time before the army retreated. He came to that part of the line near where the trace was, gave

* George Adams was a native of Pennsylvania, and was in the Revolutionary war. He received a deed for one hundred acres of land about a mile and a half south of Hamilton, in the section of land on which Charles Bruce first settled. In his deed, it is stated to be in consideration of services as a drummer in the army of the Revolution. After the treaty of Greenville, when peace was restored with the Indians, he settled in Montgomery county, Ohio, where he lived for a while. He then removed to Darke county, and built a mill on Greenville creek, six miles below the town of Greenville. He became religious and joined the New Light church. He drew a pension for several years before his death. He was an associate judge of the court of common pleas for Darke county at the time of his death, which happened about the year 1839.

three sharp yells, and said, 'Boys, let us make for the trace.' He took the lead; a charge was made; I was within five or six feet of him; the Indians gave way; a few guns were shot from both sides. When we had got about thirty rods, Adams ordered them to halt and form a line. They were then on the trace and could not be stopped. The race continued, perhaps, four or five miles, when they slackened their pace, and arrived at Fort Jefferson a short time after sunset.

The first regiment that was there had been sent after deserters and to guard provisions, I expect, on the day of battle. There was no provision on the way—none within fifty miles, and there not much. The wagoners had no guns. While we lay at Jefferson and Greenville, I tried to borrow a rifle to hunt with, could get none. At the time of the battle, I got a musket, bayonet, and cartridge-box, with about twenty cartridges, threw the box away and carried the cartridges in a large side pocket.

The troops on that campaign ought to have been drilled about eight or ten months and taught how to handle a gun. I think a number of them had never handled a gun nor shot one. There were two excellent companies of artillery, commanded by Captains Bradford and Ford. If they could have had a good breastwork to shelter themselves, all the Indians that were there could not have faced them. That battle always reminds me of one of those thunder-storms that comes quick and rapidly.

The following are the names of part of the officers that I had a knowledge of that were killed: General Butler, Colonel Gibson, Major Ferguson, of the artillery, Captains Hart, Kirkwood, Smith, Darke, and Swearingen; Lieutenant Spear and Lukens; Ensign McMichael, and Captain Bradford, of the artillery.

Provision was exceedingly scarce nearly all the time we lay

at Greenville creek, and until the army was defeated. The men were on half rations, and the beef, part of the time, was not very good.

Six spies were sent from Greenville creek two days before the army marched from that point. They went about a north-east course, heard nothing of the battle on the fourth, met with one Indian who informed them the army was defeated. They returned to Jefferson. Four of the spies were Choctaw Indians. They killed the Indian they met.

There were six wagoners and one cook with the artillery. Two wagoners and the cook were killed.

Captain Ford with the small pieces always encamped on the rear line, right in rear of the large pieces.

The officers on that campaign were as good as any that ever carried a musket.

Captain Gano, who was afterward a general in Hamilton county, was the surveyor."

In the month of December following, Mr. Irwin having received his discharge, left Cincinnati and returned to his father's residence in Washington county, Pennsylvania, where he arrived in the January following. In the ensuing April, Mr. Irwin again descended the Ohio river to Cincinnati, and remained a resident of the Miami valley from that time until the time of his decease. In January, 1793, Thomas Irwin was married at Cincinnati by Justice William McMillan to Miss Ann Larimore. He remained there a few years, when he removed and settled upon a tract of land which he had purchased in what is now called Lemon

township, Butler county, about four miles east of the present site of Middletown, where he resided until the time of his death.

The country was then new and but sparsely settled, and Mr. Irwin's land being altogether in the woods, consequently his first business was to build a cabin and clear a few acres to plant in corn. Laboring hands being scarce and difficult to be procured, he had to perform nearly all the work of building his cabin and bringing his farm into a state of cultivation with the labor of his own hands.

In the war of 1812, Thomas Irwin served a tour of duty of six months as a major in the Ohio militia, under the command of General John S. Gano. The regiment in which Major Irwin served, was commanded by Colonel Henry Tumalt. After the expiration of his term of service, he returned to his home in March, 1814. This closed his military career of active service. However, on his return home he was elected a colonel and commanded a regiment of militia, which gave him the title of colonel, by which he was uniformly called.

In October, 1808, Mr. Irwin was elected a member of the state senate of Ohio for the county of Butler, to which office he was successively re-elected until the year 1820, making his term of service in the senate twelve years. In the fall of 1824 he was elected to the lower house of the legislature from Butler county, and served in that body one session. He afterward declined

a re-election. In 1823 he was elected a justice of the peace for Lemon township, Butler county, and at the expiration of his term of office was successively re-elected until the year 1842, thus filling that office for nineteen years. In the discharge of his duties he was remarkable for his love of peace; always preferring, if possible, to settle the difficulties of those appearing before him without hard feelings and without costs.

In all the official stations which Mr. Irwin was called to fill, he discharged the duties with credit to himself, and to the entire satisfaction of his constituents. His successive elections to different offices proves his popularity with the people. The warm affection of a numerous and highly respectable family for their deceased father amply testify to his exemplary conduct as a parent. While the fact that he lived upward of fifty years in one place without enemies and surrounded by warm friends, is sufficient evidence of his irreproachable and praiseworthy conduct as a private citizen and a neighbor. As a christian, we can pronounce no higher praise upon him than to say that for fifty years he was a consistent follower of the meek and lowly Jesus. He was a member of the Associate Reformed church, and filled the office of elder in that church from the year 1805 until his death.

Colonel Thomas Irwin died at his late residence in Lemon township, Butler county, Ohio, on Sunday evening, October 3, 1847, aged 81 years. During his

last sickness he seemed perfectly composed and resigned. He died in the full enjoyment of the christian faith, resting his hope of salvation on the merits of a crucified Savior. On the succeeding Tuesday, his remains were nterred with military honors by the Monroe Guards, in the burying-ground of Mount Pleasant meeting-house, north of Monroe, followed to the grave by a large train of mourning relatives, and the largest concourse of citizens ever assembled in that vicinity on a similar occasion. Thus ended the long and useful career of another of the PIONEERS OF THE WEST.

III.

Joel Collins.

THE subject of this sketch was born in Halifax county, Va., on the 16th day of September, 1772. His father, Stephen Collins, with his wife and four children (Joel being the eldest), removed from Virginia in the year 1779, to seek a home in the then wild regions of Kentucky.

In the times of which I am writing, deerskins formed an important article of trade. They were purchased of the hunters chiefly by a class of men called the *Scotch merchants*, by whom they were shipped to Scotland, where they went through a process of dressing that gave them the appearance of the finest kind of buff cloth. There were also in this country at the time, *skin-dressers* who prepared the deerskins in the same manner for use. The skins were neatly and even fancifully made up into garments, and worn by men of all classes. These useful and durable garments have long since been superseded, and with them have disappeared the mechanical arts of the *skin-dresser and leather-breeches maker*. The demand for deerskins induced certain men, called *long-hunters*, to

penetrate in their hunting excursions as far westward as the waters of the Kentucky and Licking rivers. These excursions gave them an opportunity of exploring the delightful country watered by those streams, and their description of it, on their return to the settlements in Virginia, induced many persons from Virginia and the Carolinas (some as early as 1776) to visit this newly-discovered region. These persons confirmed the accounts previously given by the hunters of the great fertility of the soil, the lofty canebrakes interspersed with natural groves of stately timber, consisting chiefly of the red and honey locust, black and white walnut, cherry, ash, and other species of timber. Among the timber there was a luxuriant growth of what was called wild rye and buffalo clover. The cane, rye, and clover afforded an ample supply of pasture at all seasons of the year, for the numerous herds of buffalo and other wild game which then ranged through that portion of the country. By these flattering reports an excitement prevailed in the settlements of Virginia somewhat similar to that which we have lately witnessed in relation to Oregon and California.

In the fall of 1779, a considerable number of those pioneers removed from Virginia with their families, with the view of making settlements in Kentucky. In this undertaking a journey of some five hundred miles was to be performed, chiefly through an uninhabited country, along a way called the *Wilderness Trace*, on which there

was neither the habitation of man nor a military post, from Powel's Valley in Virginia to English's station in Kentucky. This station was on the waters of Dick's river, a branch of the Kentucky river, and afterward became better known by the name of "Crab Orchard." These enterprises were generally undertaken by men with families, voluntarily formed into small emigrating companies, without the authority of, or any aid from, the government. When they arrived at the place of their destination a suitable site was selected, and in building their cabins for the accommodation of their families, they were so arranged as to form a kind of fort for their protection and defense. These places were called stations, and generally received their names from, the leader of the party. The names of some of those stations were Boone's, English's, Logan's, Harrod's, Crow's, and Bowman's stations, on the south side of the Kentucky river; and on the north side were Lexington, Bryant's, Ruddle's, Martin's, McConnel's, Morgan's, Todd's, Stroud's, Hinkston's, and Holder's stations.

In the month of October, 1779, Stephen Collins, with four of his brothers and a brother-in-law, each with their families, and also one brother without a family, who was an excellent hunter, constituted one of those emigrating parties. The horse, on those occasions, was compelled to carry on his back what, with much more ease and convenience to himself and owner, can now be conveyed by means of wagons, but the

latter could not be used on the trace at that time. In organizing and fitting out one of these emigrating parties, the first thing necessary to be done, was to apply to a "pack-saddle maker" (a mechanic, who with the artisan in deer leather has been superseded by the improvements of the age). The pack-saddles being procured, the horses were loaded with such articles of household furniture and utensils as were needful for the journey, and for making the necessary improvements in the new country to which they were going. The feather beds were snugly rolled up, each one by itself. Two of these were fastened together by ropes and placed lengthwise on the horse, one on each side; forming something like a cradle immediately over the animal's back, affording quite a convenient place in which to deposit the smaller children. Another mode of conveying the little ones was by swinging across a gentle pack-horse, two large and properly-constructed baskets, in each of which were placed a pair of children, of a size and weight to form a proper balance. In this way they passed safely and comfortably along. Some care was, however, necessary to guard the animals thus loaded from coming in contact with the nests of the yellow-jackets, which were numerous along the trace in the fall of the year. In occasionally coming in contact with those nests, the horse would sometimes relieve himself of a part or the whole of his load, in his exertions to get rid of these tormenting insects.

Although Mr. Collins and his party had been contemplating and preparing for their emigration during the summer, for some cause, unknown to the writer, it was the month of October, 1779, before the party took up their line of march. This delay, together with the early and severe winter of that year, as will appear hereafter, came near proving fatal to their enterprise.

Their company, composed of five families, had with them some twenty or thirty horses, and about fifty head of cattle, with some cows which gave milk. After the melancholy sensations usually produced in the mind on taking leave of our former home and old friends and neighbors had in a measure subsided and worn off, Joel Collins states that, although then but seven years of age, he well recollects the activity and cheerfulness which were exhibited by both men and women in preparing to make an early start. The men engaged in gathering up and packing the horses; the women in preparing breakfast and fixing up their little ones for the day's journey.

On the march the cattle generally moved in front, and after being broken to the road (in driver's phrase) were easily driven by a couple of men or boys. Then followed the pack-horses in single file, in charge of the men on foot, carrying their rifles on their shoulders. The women and small children in the rear on horseback; except when, at times, the timid and tender mother

would be seen on foot walking and leading the horse that carried her small children.

Here is a group for the pencil of the painter. The father driving before him the horses packed with his implements of husbandry, followed by the wife and mother leading the horse, across whose back are slung the baskets before mentioned, above the rims of which are seen the smiling faces of the little ones they contain.

Fortunately for Mr. Collins and his party, the Indians were not troublesome at that time. This might have been owing to some treaty stipulation; or perhaps their attention was attracted by the war then going on between this country and Great Britain. Be this as it may, they this year permitted the emigrants to pass along this trace unmolested. But while the party thus escaped the calamities of war, they came near losing their lives by cold and starvation. When they had arrived near the middle of the wilderness, the weather became very rainy and unusually cold. Traveling was impeded by heavy rains which raised the creeks, and afterward by snow and severe frost. In the mean time the provisions they had brought with them from the settlements became exhausted. The horses and cattle were declining in flesh and strength; cane, the only food attainable for them at that season of the year, being scarce along the trace. A council was held, at which it was concluded to halt for a few days, in the vain hope

that the weather would become more favorable, and in order to afford time for the men to lay in a supply of meat by hunting. In this, however, they were unsuccessful, the noise made in walking upon the frozen snow and leaves so alarmed the game that none could be taken. Some of the men, in their hunting excursions for game, had discovered a fine brake of cane, about four miles north of the trace, down a stream called Raccoon creek, to which place the encampment was removed the next day. By this time the party were on very short allowance, and the children were crying with hunger. The men, being unable to kill any game, were at length compelled to kill one or two of the cattle, although they had become very lean in flesh. This meat cooked in the best manner it could be, without salt, bread, or seasoning of any kind, was the only food the party had. In this manner they lived, and remained in their encampment some seven or eight weeks. A rain which froze as it fell had covered the leaves of the cane with a thick coat of ice, which rendered it so unwholesome for the cattle and horses that they began to die, and by the time that the weather became sufficiently moderate to travel, all the cattle and many of the horses were dead. The game becoming scarce near the camp, starvation was again likely to threaten the party. It was then determined to store away and leave until spring in some secure and secret place such heavy articles, as they were, in consequence of the loss of horses,

unable to take along with them. This being done, the encampment was broken up and they proceeded on their journey. As they were entirely out of provisions, two of the best hunters were dispatched in advance of the party a sufficient distance to allow them time to make a careful hunt on each side of the trace. On the afternoon of the first day one of the hunters hailed them from the top of a hill near the trace, informing them that he had killed a deer, and desired some one to come after it, as he was on the track of another. Mrs. Collins immediately started on a run up the hill, calling back to the men to strike and kindle a fire and she would bring the deer, being rejoiced at the prospect of having something for her starving children to eat. With the party was a lad—John Kersey—about fourteen years of age, an orphan whom Mr. Collins had taken to raise. With his assistance Mrs. Collins soon had the doe down the hill, and preparations made for a hasty meal. Many of the little children, who were crying because of excessive cold in their feet, were relieved by standing on the entrails of the deer, after the boy John had taken them out. By sticking pieces of the liver on the ends of small sharp sticks, and warming, or rather smoking it, as the fire began to blaze, and then eating it more than half raw, Joel said he well remembered that he and some of the other children were made very sick. Before sunset, the hunters brought in one or two more deer.

The venison, though lean and blue, would still satisfy the demands of nature in the way of food, and was very acceptable to the party.

In passing on the next day, the party came to a small fire by the wayside, by which lay a black man so near dead that he was speechless; he had been so badly frozen in his feet and legs that he was unable to travel, and was left in that condition by those with whom he was traveling. Beside him lay a few grains of parched corn and a piece of jerked venison. The party renewed his fire and left with him a portion of their provisions, such as they had. They understood from some horsemen who passed them a day or two afterward that the poor creature was dead. The party traveled on in this manner until they arrived at English's station, about the middle of February, 1780, where they obtained some relief, and then proceeded to Logan's station where they procured some dried buffalo beef, the first of the kind they had seen. They then passed on to a place near Dick's river, located by Colonel Bowman as a suitable site for a station. This gentleman had traveled with them some days in Powel's Valley, when they first set out. It was then agreed that they would settle together when they arrived in Kentucky. Here several cabins were speedily put up in the usual way, and thus Bowman's station was commenced.

After the cabins were erected and the families provided in the best manner they could, and the horses that had

survived their journey had been somewhat recruited by the warm weather and spring vegetation, a part of the men returned to the wilderness for the purpose of bringing forward the articles that had been left behind at Raccoon creek. But when they arrived at the place of deposit all were gone. It was afterward ascertained that a band of thieves and tories during that winter (which was a very severe one, and long retained the name of the "hard winter") had made it their business to hunt up and plunder those deposits of their contents, as there were many such made by persons emigrating that season. This was a heavy loss, and for a time banished everything like cheerfulness from the countenances of the people of the station. However, as summer was approaching, warm clothing would not be so much needed, and the women, by patching up and mending the remaining worn and tattered garments of the family, could make them answer the purpose during the summer.

One day in June, 1780, when old Mr. Collins and the boy John were engaged not far from the station, clearing a piece of ground in which to plant corn, their attention was attracted by the voice of some one calling to them from the woods in their rear. On looking they discovered a naked man, standing by a tree, who beckoned to them with his hands and said in English, "Come here." Fearful of a decoy, Mr. Collins directed John to run to the station, raise the alarm of "Indians," and bring

him his rifle, while he would remain and watch the motions of the stranger. The men soon had their guns in their hands, and were running to the place pointed out by John. Lieutenant Bryant ordered the men to take trees in open order. The stranger, seeing the disposition taken by the men, and fearful of being shot, concealed himself behind a large tree and cried out at the top of his voice, "Don't shoot; I am a white man." The lieutenant advanced alone and demanded, "Who are you?" The man replied in substance that the Indians had taken Ruddle's and Martin's stations, and that he alone had escaped. He begged that some clothes might be sent him to put on. Upon this, Lieutenant Bryant ventured up to the tree, and found the man's statement to be true. He had lost all his clothing but a stock, which he had worn around his neck. This he had suspended before him by a piece of hickory bark tied around his waist. He was soon furnished with clothes and taken into the station, where all the inhabitants, men, women, and children gathered around to see him and hear what he had to say. He stated that the day on which the station he lived in was taken, he was in the woods hunting for some cattle that had strayed off; that he heard the firing of cannon and small arms at the station which induced him to return. But on approaching the station he discovered that it was in the possession of the British and Indians. He then made his way for the south side of the Ken-

tucky river. Being but an indifferent swimmer he made a raft on which he attempted to cross the stream, but before he gained the other side his raft upset and his clothes were carried away by the stream, and it was with the utmost difficulty that he made out to save himself by scrambling to the shore. Ruddle's station was established in the year 1779, on the eastern bank of the South fork of Licking river, three miles below the junction of Hinkston's and Stoner's branches of that stream. Martin's station was about five miles higher up, on the same fork. Both were situated within the present limits of Bourbon county. The party of British and Indians who captured the station was commanded by Colonel Byrd.

Mr. Collins said that Colonel Byrd was the son of a wealthy man who had resided in Virginia, with whom his father was well acquainted. On the breaking out of the Revolutionary war, he returned to England and procured for his son a commission in the British army.

This expedition was fitted out in Canada, and was said to consist of six hundred men, including Indians and Canadians, with two pieces of artillery. The artillery and baggage were transported by water up the Maumee and St. Mary's rivers, thence by land to the head waters of the Great Miami river, and in large canoes down that stream to the mouth, then up the Ohio to the mouth of Licking river, and up that river to the forks

where Colonel Byrd landed his artillery, stores and baggage and put up some huts to shelter them from the weather. Thence he marched by land a few miles to Ruddle's station, before which he appeared on the 22d day of June, 1780, at the head of his army, which had been augmented, on passing through the Indian country, to one thousand men. The summer of the year 1780 was exceedingly wet, and all the water courses were full. In consequence of this wet weather, which had continued for many days, the men at Ruddle's and Martin's stations, who were accustomed to be in the woods, had all come in, so that Colonel Byrd and his party (although they had been twelve days marching from the Ohio river to Ruddle's station) arrived within gun shot of the fort before they were discovered. The first information the people of the station received of the approach of an enemy was the report from a discharge of a field piece, which sent a six-pound ball over their heads. Byrd sent in a flag and demanded a surrender at discretion, to which demand Captain Ruddle said he would surrender only on certain conditions, one of which was, that the prisoners should be under protection of the British, and not suffered to be prisoners to the Indians. To these terms Colonel Byrd consented, and the gates were immediately opened to him. No sooner was this done, however, than the Indians rushed in and each seized the first person they could lay their hands on, and claimed

them as their own prisoner. In this way the members of each family were separated from each other, the husband from the wife and the parents from their children. The piercing screams of the children when torn from their mothers, the distracted cries of the mothers when forced from their tender offspring, are indescribable. Many of the children and those who were considered by the Indians unable to travel, were tomahawked on the spot.

Captain Ruddle remonstrated with Colonel Byrd against this barbarous conduct of the Indians, but to no effect. He confessed that it was out of his power to restrain them, their number being so much greater than that of the troops over which he had control, that he himself was completely in their power. After the people were entirely stripped of all their property, and the prisoners divided among their captors, the Indians proposed to Colonel Byrd to attack Martin's station. It is said that Colonel Byrd was so affected by the conduct of the Indians to the prisoners already taken that he peremptorily refused, unless the chiefs would pledge themselves, on behalf of the Indians, that all the prisoners taken should be entirely under his control, and that the Indians should only be entitled to the plunder. Upon these propositions being agreed to by the chiefs, the army marched to Martin's station and took it without opposition. The Indians divided the spoil among themselves, most of the prisoners were

carried to Detroit, whence many of the survivors returned after several years' detention.*

The army now commenced their retreat to the forks of Licking, where they had left their boats, and with all possible dispatch got their artillery and military stores on board, put off and returned to the mouth of the Big Miami, where the Indians separated from Byrd and took with them the whole of the prisoners taken at Ruddle's station. The prisoners were loaded with plunder, and such of them as could not support the rapid march which the Indians made (among whom were necessarily most of the women and children (were quickly released from their misery by the tomahawk of their cruel foes. Among the prisoners was Captain

*Some of them doubtless never did return, but remained either from choice or necessity with their captors. The following letter was published in the *Kentucky Gazette*, in 1822, forty-two years after Mrs. Lale and her two daughters were taken captives at this station:

"*Colchester, Upper Canada, August 7th*, 1822.

"My Dear Son: I was taken at Fort Licking commanded by Captain Ruddle, and was ransomed by Col. Magee, and brought into Upper Canada, near Amherstburgh (Fort Malden), where I now live, after having been sixteen years among the Indians. Your eldest sister is now living in Sandwich, but the youngest I could never hear of. Now, my dear son, I would be very glad to see you once more before I die, which I do not think will be long, as I am in a very bad state of health, and have been this great while. I am married to Mr. Jacob Miracle, for whom you can inquire.

"Your affectionate mother,

"Mary Miracle.

"To Peter Lale, *Kentucky*."

John Hinkston, a brave man and an experienced hunter and woodsman. The second night after leaving the forks of Licking the Indians encamped near the river; everything was very wet, in consequence of which it was very difficult to kindle a fire, and before one could be made it was quite dark. A guard was placed over the prisoners, and while a fire was being kindled, Hinkston, sprang from among them and was immediately out of sight. An alarm was instantly given, and the Indians ran in every direction, not being able to ascertain what course he had taken. Hinkston ran but a short distance, before he lay down by the side of a log under the dark shade of a large beech tree, where he remained until the stir occasioned by his escape had subsided, when he moved off as silently as possible. The night was already cloudy and very dark, so that he had no mark to steer by. After traveling some time toward Lexington, as he thought, he found himself close to the camp from which he had just before made his escape. In this dilemma he was obliged to tax his skill as a woodsman, to devise a method by which he should be enabled to steer his course, without light enough to see the moss on the trees, and without the aid of the sun, moon, or stars. Captain Hinkston ultimately adopted this expedient: He dipped his hand in the water (which then covered almost the whole country) and holding it upright above his head he instantly felt one side of his hand cold. He immediately knew that from that

point the wind came. He therefore steered the residue of the night to the cold side of his hand, that being from the west he knew, and the course best suited to his purpose. After traveling for several hours, he sat down at the root of a tree and fell asleep. A few hours before day, there came on a very heavy dense fog so that a man could not be seen at twenty yards distance. This circumstance was of infinite advantage to Hinkston, for as soon as daylight appeared, the howling of wolves, the gobbling of turkeys, the bleating of fawns, the cry of owls and every other wild animal was heard in almost every direction. Hinkston was too well acquainted with the customs of the Indians not to know that it was Indians and not beasts or birds that made these sounds. He therefore avoided approaching the places where he heard them, and notwithstanding he was several times within a few yards of them, under cover of the fog he escaped and arrived safe at Lexington on the eighth day after Ruddle's station was taken, and brought them the first news of that event.

At that time General George Rogers Clark, who had his headquarters at Fort Nelson, at the falls of the Ohio river, was invested with the command of the military force in the west. He was looked up to by the people of the settlement as their only hope. His counsel and advice were received as coming from an oracle. Some time in the summer of 1780, General Clark issued an order, commanding every man in Kentucky on the

militia roll, capable of bearing arms, to march forthwith to the mouth of Licking on the Ohio river where he would meet them on a certain day named. And if a sufficiently strong force were gathered he would advance upon the enemy in their own country, and if possible, recover the prisoners taken and otherwise chastise the Indians for their inhuman conduct.

Taking up every man to make up this war party was a heavy draft, and operated particularly hard upon men having families. There were about the stations and throughout the country numbers of persons that were not encumbered with families, single horsemen on exploring tours, with a view of securing titles to land in that desirable region. Many of these in order to evade the service mounted their horses and returned to the old settlements, leaving the married men to form Clark's army. Those who had horses were required to take them along, in order to assist in packing provisions, which consisted only of buffalo beef and venison, dried or jerked, for on those occasions there was neither commissary to issue rations nor quartermaster to find camp equipage or furnish transportation. The use of the rifle among the wild game was their main means of support.

But it may be inquired, what was to become of all the women and children while all the effective men were engaged in this enterprise? The game had been somewhat hunted out in the neighborhood of the stations on

the south side of the Kentucky river. The men having to depart on a notice so short, that many of them, old Mr. Collins among the number, were unable to provide what was necessary to sustain their families in their absence. It was, however, at a season of the year when the earth was covered with a great variety of green herbage, which the rich soil of the country produced in abundance. Some of these, it is well known, make an agreeable salad or greens when cooked with meat and dressed in a proper manner. Mr. Collins states that during this time the support of the family consisted chiefly of young nettle tops, boiled alone in water without any seasoning whatever, not even salt. In this manner many of the families had to subsist until the campaign was over and the men returned.

Among the first items of news received at the station from the army after its departure was that Lieutenant Bryant of the station was killed. This was a sad stroke. And Mr. Collins says he well remembers how his youthful sensibilities were affected at the wailings of the women and children, especially of the wife of the deceased, when the sad intelligence was communicated. This expedition under the command of General Clark, consisted of two regiments; the one commanded by Colonel Benjamin Logan, which assembled at Bryant's spring, about eight miles from Lexington, and marched down the Licking river to the mouth; the other from

Jefferson under the command of Colonel William Linn assembled at the falls and marched up the Ohio river to the mouth of Licking.

As soon as it was decided that an expedition should be carried on against the Indians, General Clark ordered a number of small boats or skiffs to be built at Louisville, capable of carrying fifteen or twenty men each, in which the artillery, provisions, and military stores were transported from Louisville to the mouth of Licking. These vessels were under the direction of Colonel George Slaughter, who commanded about one hundred and fifty troops, raised by him in Virginia for the western service. In ascending the river it was necessary to keep the vessels close to the shore, some of them were on one side of the river and some on the other. It happened that while one of these skiffs was near the north side of the river, a party of Indians ran down to the water's edge, fired into the boat, and killed and wounded several of the men before assistance could be obtained from the other boats. The whole force when all assembled at the mouth of Licking river amounted to nearly one thousand men. The army having crossed the Ohio river, to where the city of Cincinnati now stands, on the 2d of August, 1780, took up their line of march for the Indian towns. They had with them a mounted piece of ordnance (a six-pounder) for the transportation of which, a way through the forest had to be opened. On the 6th of August

they reached Chillicothe,* an Indian town on the waters of the Little Miami river. They found the town abandoned by the Indians and still burning, having been set fire to that morning. The army then marched to Piqua, another Indian town on the north side of Mad river, where they arrived on the 8th of August, and had a pretty severe engagement with the Indians, whom they defeated, burned their town, and destroyed their growing corn.

There is one circumstance connected with the expedition, which Mr. Collins says he often heard mentioned by his father, which I have not seen noticed in any history of the campaign, General Clark and his army remained on the ground two days. On the evening of the second day he called a council of his officers and submitted the question: "Will it be prudent for us to return by the same route that we came?" An almost unanimous vote was in the affirmative. The General dissented, but advised them all to think of it till morn-

* This name signifies "the chief town" in the Shawanoese language, and being a general term was applied at various times to several of their towns in Ohio. The principal ones mentioned in early narratives are, 1st. The one named in the text, on the Little Miami river in Xenia township, Greene county, about three miles north of the present town of Xenia. It is sometimes mentioned under the name of Old Chillicothe or Oldtown. 2d. One on the site of the town of Frankfort in Concord township, Ross county; this was also sometimes called Oldtown and was twelve miles north-east of the 3d, which was on the site of the present city of Chillicothe in Scioto township, Ross county.

ing, for he intended to march on his return to the Ohio river by sunrise the next morning. In the morning by daybreak, his officers, by appointment, were again in council. And still a majority of them thought it would not be unsafe to return by the way they came, and as a road was already made and they could march more rapidly than by a new route. The General argued that they had spent in the enemy's country a time sufficiently long for them to assemble, and as the Indians had permitted them to remain unmolested in their villages for several days, it was strong presumption that they were collecting somewhere. He knew them to be sufficiently numerous to give battle, if they could obtain an advantage in a suitable position for an ambuscade; and, for these reasons, the General said he was compelled from a sense of duty to take a different route and open another road, which he did, and returned to the Ohio river opposite the mouth of the Licking. It appears that the Indians had made an ambuscade in the way by which they expected General Clark and his army to return. On the night before they crossed the Ohio river, the Indians sent runners to see what had become of them. These Indian spies lurked about the camp until they got hold of some four or five horses that had strayed outside of the lines, and returned and informed their chiefs that the Long Knives had cleared themselves. From information afterward obtained, no doubt exists that if our army had returned

on the route that they went they would have fallen into an ambuscade, and most likely been defeated.

Mr. Collins, in passing the station at Lexington on his return home, exchanged the horse he rode on the expedition for a three acre lot of growing corn, a cow. a few hogs, and some farming utensils. He also exchanged his cabin at Bowman's station for one in Lexington, and in a few weeks removed and took up his residence in Lexington. This was considered a dangerous move, for the capture of Ruddle's and Martin's stations on Licking left Lexington and Bryant's station the most exposed positions in the country. But the wild game, being considerably diminished and hunted out on the south side of Kentucky river, Mr. Collins remarked it was as well to die by the sword as by famine. On arriving at Lexington they found that on the day before, one of Mr. Collins' brothers, a single man, who had been in the country before, had arrived from Virginia by the way of Boone's trace. He was a good hunter, and next morning he rode out and before twelve o'clock returned and laid on the floor of the block-house the half of a fat buffalo.

The people now considered that their sufferings had come to an end. The young corn and pumpkins supplied their wants for a while, and when the corn became sufficiently hard the mortar and pestle converted it into hominy and meal for bread. The worn-out clothing was thrown aside for suits of dressed deer and elk-

skins. The raw buffalo hide, stretched in a frame with the wooly side up, made both bed and bedstead. The covering was of the same article dressed, so as to be pliable, and spread with the wool down. In the spring of the year the people of the station ventured out; and while a part of the men stood guard, the others, with the women and children, were employed in gathering up the dead nettle stalks, the bark of which afforded a good lint for making linen. From this, Mrs. Collins in due time was enabled to provide shirts for the members of her family.

The people of the station, however, were frequently annoyed by the small parties of Indians that were continually prowling about. A young man by the name of David Hunter was killed by one of these parties as he was passing from McConnell's station, a mile below Lexington, on the town fork of Elkhorn creek. When he came near the fort at Lexington he was shot with several balls and scalped. The men rushed out from the station with their rifles, but the Indians took to the canebrakes and made their escape.

Joel Collins says he heard the report of the guns that were fired at Alexander McConnell, when his horse was shot under him and himself taken prisoner, and well recollected the shout of joy that was raised in the fort when, near sunset, on an evening about a week after he was taken, McConnell entered the gate, having made his escape from his captors after killing four or

five of them. The Indians having fallen asleep one night in their encampment near the Ohio river, McConnell, by some means, cut or untied the tugs with which he was fastened, got possession of the Indians' guns, placed one gun on each knee, in a squatting position, with the muzzles almost touching the sleeping Indians. Two of them were killed the first fire with their own rifles. He kept up a brisk fire until two or three more were killed or wounded and the rest fled. He then took his own rifle, which the Indians had taken with him, and a splendid tomahawk, and left for home.

Joel Collins used to relate that looking through a crack between the picketing of the fort he had a view of a skirmish between three men belonging to the station who were out cutting wood, and five Indians, in which one white man, John Wymer, lost his life, and one Indian was killed by Henry McDonald. The same party of Indians shot and wounded John Brooky, a few days afterward, while cutting wood near McConnell's station, at which time Thomas Stinson shot and wounded one of the enemy.

Nearly all the men composing Lexington and McConell's station were of the religious faith called Covenanters or Seceders, believing that no man could die but in one divinely-appointed way. This faith enabled them to be cool and deliberate in time of peril and danger, and being from the course of their lives necessarily expert in the use of the rifle, whenever they came in

contact with the Indians, they scarcely ever pulled trigger without drawing blood. Their names indicate that they were of Scottish stock. The Morrisons, McConnells, McDonalds, McKinneys, Stinsons and Mitchells.

Captain Robert Patterson—afterward Colonel—was an officer in the fort. About the 1st of April, 1779, Mr. Patterson built a solitary block-house on the spot where the city of Lexington now stands, which, with additional defenses afterward constructed, formed the station, the forlorn-hope of advancing civilization.

Joel Collins, then a boy of ten years, residing with his father's family in the fort at Lexington, said he should never forget his participating in the shouts of joy that were raised not only by the wife and children of Colonel Patterson, but by all the people of the station, when he entered the gate of the fort on the day after the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks, which was fought on the 19th of August, 1782. While they were crowding around him some of the men observed: "Why, Captain, there are bullet holes in your hunting shirt." "Likely enough," said he, "for I have felt a smarting sensation in parts of my body." He permitted his clothes to be removed when two or three black streaks, made by rifle balls, were plainly to be seen on his sides and back. Colonel Patterson, with Matthias Denman and Israel Ludlow, in the winter of 1788-'89, laid out the town of Losantiville—now Cincinnati. In 1804, he

removed to the State of Ohio, and settled one mile south of Dayton, where he died August 5th, 1827.*

The Todds, who belonged to the station were brave and leading men. Colonel John Todd, the eldest brother, was killed in the battle of the Blue Licks. Captain James McBride,† then a young man, from Conococheague, belonged to the station, and took an active part in the transactions of the times, but at last was killed by the Indians while engaged in surveying land on the waters of Licking river about twenty miles north-east of Lexington. A surveying party usually consisted of the surveyor, two chain-men, a marker, hunter, cook and spy. A man by the name of Barton was in company with McBride when he was killed. He had his arm broken by a shot from the Indians, but made his escape. He stated that the party had finished their job of surveying and were on their return to Lexington along the trace that then led from the mouth of Licking to Lexington, when they were fired on by the Indians. McBride was on horseback and fell; but was seen to rise on his feet, present his rifle, and fire on the Indians, before they reached him with the tomahawk, killing one of them. Mr. Collins thinks Colonel Patterson was also in company at the time they were attacked. Some ten or twelve years

*An interesting biographical sketch of Colonel Patterson, by John W. Van Cleve, will be found in the *American Pioneer*, vol. ii, p. 343.

†Father of James McBride, compiler of these sketches.

afterward a large white oak tree which stood near the old trace, and had the appearance of having been blazed, was pointed out to him as the spot where the transaction took place. The death of McBride was lamented as a heavy loss to the community. He had erected the first water grist-mill on south Elkhorn creek, so much needed in a new country. When the men of Lexington and those of Bryant's station were contending for military honors, it was admitted by all that McBride shot and killed the first Indian who attempted to scale the out-works at the seige of Bryant's station, and his conduct at the battle of the Blue Licks was highly spoken of.

People coming to the western country by water at that time generally landed at the falls of the Ohio. But landing at the month of Limestone creek (now Maysville), and taking the trace which led thence by the lower Blue Licks to Bryant's station, was found to be the best route for those traveling on foot or horseback to the stations on the north side of the Kentucky river.

Late in the fall of the year 1781, a man arrived at the station at Lexington with the pleasing intelligence that the Continental army, under General Washington, had captured the British army, under Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown, in Virginia. A bon-fire made with a pile of dry cane-stalks and other combustible materials was immediately blazing in the fort, and a hearty "Hurrah for General Washington and the Continental Congress"

was heard from all the inhabitants of the fort at the close of each volley of rifles which pealed in the *feu de joie* fired by the men of the station.

Mr. Collins could detail all the circumstances connected with the disastrous battle of the Blue Licks. I will mention one singular fact related by him which I have not seen referred to in history. He said he learned it from an old man, since he resided in the State of Ohio. This man was charged by some of his neighbors with being a tory in the Revolutionary war, and of having served the British with the Indians under the notorious Simon Girty. It was alleged that he was present at the seige of Bryant's station, and, subsequently at the battle of the Blue Licks. Mr. Collins stated that after he had become acquainted with the old man, and acquired his confidence by several little acts of kindness and friendship, he felt a strong desire to hear what the old man would say on the subject. He sought a fitting opportunity, and asked him if what he had heard was true. He confessed that it was. They then sat down on a log together (for they were alone in the woods), and the old man saying that he would tell him all about it, made the following statement:

He resided in the State of New York at the time the Amercan Revolution commenced; a cousin of his, who had received a lieutenant's commission in the American army, made him drunk, and while in that condition, induced him to enlist during

the war; when he became sober he repented of his engagement, but the officer refused to let him off. He deserted and fled to Detroit, then in possession of the English. Some time after he had been in that country an expedition was planned against the settlements in Kentucky, to be composed chiefly of Indians, and such of the white inhabitants as could be prevailed on to join them. The expedition was conducted by an officer of the British army, named Caldwell. The deserter attached himself to this party and marched with the expedition. After they had failed in their attack on Bryant's station and had retreated as far as Licking river, near the Blue Licks, Officer Caldwell consulted with the Indians as to the probability of their being pursued by the white people, for the position in which they were was a favorable one to give battle to and repel the whites should they come on. The Indians assured the Englishman that they had in their company an old man that by prophesy or conjuration could tell whether they were pursued or not. The old Indian after figuring awhile with his conjuring tools, pointed to an elevation in the sky above the horizon, which would leave the sun about three hours high in the afternoon, and said: "When the sun gets there, the Long Knives will be here." The Indians immediately crossed the river and formed an ambuscade where the battle was fought. Officer Caldwell, however, not placing implicit confidence in the conjuration of the old Indian, mounted a couple of his most trusty spies on fleet horses and sent them back to make discoveries. They had not proceeded very far when they discovered that the Kentuckians were coming on. The conjuration of the old Indian was strictly true. The result is known.

As I have heretofore taken an occasion to mention the sound judgment and prompt decision exercised by General Clark in his conduct in the expedition against the Indians on Mad river, it may not be improper to attempt an apology for the error of as brave a set of men as ever bled and died in any cause or for any country. Nothing was known of the designs of the enemy until they made their attack on Bryant's station. The place was so ably defended by Captain Craig and his men in the fort, that in less than three days the enemy raised the seige and was on the retreat. In the mean time expresses were sent to Boonesborough and all the stations on the south side of the Kentucky river. Colonel Trigg and Major McGary arrived at Lexington with small detachments of men, where they were joined by Colonel John Todd, with what men could be spared from Lexington and the stations on the north side of the Kentucky river. Colonel Logan remained on the south side of the river only one day to bring up the second division from the more remote points. Joel Collins stated that it was on Sunday morning that the men belonging to the first division left Lexington, some of them being on foot and some on horseback. He and some other boys placed themselves on a fence on one side of a lane along which they were to pass, and attempted to count them as they moved off. The result had gone from his recollection, but he did not believe there were more than two hundred. How many

afterward joined them under Colonel Boone at Bryant's station he was unable to say. It has been said that the error which caused the defeat was committed by those brave men in not waiting until Colonel Logan came up. But it is well known to have been the almost invariable practice of the Indians, after committing any outrage in the settlements, to cross the Ohio river as speedily as possible. By pursuing this course they often effected their escape, without being overtaken by the white man. Now, if the first division had waited for the second, and the whole proved unable to overtake the retreating Indians, the whole blame of their escape would have fallen upon the first division. General Clark held a commission from the Continental Congress. These officers belonged to the militia, and did not stop (as they probably ought to have done) to choose a commander, who would have been responsible for their movements and the result. On Monday, about the same time of day that the first division had left, Colonel Logan passed Lexington, with the second division, only one day's march in the rear of the first. They appeared to be nearly the same number of men as had marched the day before. The boys belonging to the station all ran out to see the men as they passed, and Mr. Collins said he well remembered how his youthful fancy was attracted by the appearance of the captain who marched at the head of the first company. He was tall and well-proportioned; a countenance pleasant but

dignified. There was nothing uncommon in his dress; his hunting shirt hung carelessly but gracefully on his shoulders; his other apparel was in common backwoods style. On inquiry he was told that it was Captain Simon Butler, so well known afterward under his true name, Simon Kenton.

Some considerable time after they had received the news of the capture of Lord Cornwallis, another traveler arrived at Lexington, who had in his possession a newspaper containing the articles of peace concluded by the American people with Great Britain. The man was to leave in the morning and wished to take his paper with him. Such was the interest and joy the inhabitants felt at this intelligence that they prevailed on John McKinney, the school-master, to make a copy of the articles before the traveler would leave in the morning. For this purpose he rose before daylight and went into the school-house which stood a few rods from the fort on the outside of the picketing. Here, while engaged in making the copy, he was attacked by a wild-cat and fought his celebrated battle. Ever afterward he generally went by the name of "Wild-cat McKinney." He was a stout, well-built man, but rather under the common hight. In the battle fought with the Indians in 1774, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha river, between the Virginia riflemen under the command of Colonel Lewis, and the Shawnees and Wyandots under Cornstalk, McKinney was wounded at the first onset. A rifle ball

passed through both his thighs which so disabled him that he fell. The whites for the moment were compelled to fall back a short distance, leaving the wounded man about half way between the contending parties, who fought chiefly from behind trees. At length McKinney, in making an effort to rise to his feet, was discovered by the Indians and another shot shattered his left wrist so badly, that in attempting to hold on to a pawpaw sapling to support himself from falling again, the splintered bone of his arm stuck into the bark of the sapling. The Indians at this juncture made an effort to reach the wounded man with their tomahawks, but the whites discovering the situation of their comrade, advanced to his relief, and shooting two or three Indians gained the ground where he lay, placed him on a blanket, and took him to their encampment. On examination it was found that in addition to the wounds already mentioned, two of his ribs had been cleft from the backbone by a stroke of the tomahawk. With the exception of losing the use of his left hand in consequence of the wound in his wrist, he entirely recovered. He was also afterward wounded by the Indians in Kentucky while out on a surveying tour. Thus it appears he was not destined to be killed by wild men nor devoured by wild beasts.

It was a morning in June that McKinney was attacked by the wild-cat. The women of the station, as was their custom, were up very early attending to the feeding and milking of the cows (Mrs. Collins, the mother of

Joel, Mrs. Masterson, and a Miss Thompson, were engaged in that occupation that morning), when suddenly a female voice, that of Mrs. Collins, rather above its common pitch, came through a port-hole on the outside of the cabin, saying: "Stephen, run over to the school-house; something is the matter with the master, he hollers like he had a fit." Old Mr. Collins, with young Joel at his heels, without loss of time obeyed the call. When they reached the school-house door, which was standing open, Mr. Collins stepped in and said: "Why, master, what on earth is the matter?" He replied: "An ugly baste has been trying here to kill me, but I have got him pretty well conquered." At the same time giving a dig with his lame left hand into the side of the dying animal which he held in his arms, suspended by its teeth fastened in McKinney's breast-bone, a little below the throat. When the animal attacked him he seized it in his arms and in the scuffle contrived to get the animal's back against the writing bench or table. Grasping it by the throat with his right hand, he bore on with all his might, with his body in a doubled-up position against the table, and was not slow in dealing blows with his left fist (over which he always wore a glove, because of its being disfigured by the wound before mentioned). And what with squeezing, choking, and pounding, the breath of the creature was stopped and its life brought to a close. While matters were in this posture, some one attempted to assist him by taking hold of the dying

animal, but he said: "Wait until I come out of the door, when you can have light to see how to take the teeth out of my breast-bone." He then stepped out to the light, and Mr. Collins, by taking hold of the head of the animal and using some care, at last succeeded in loosening the teeth from the bone, and drew them out, not, however, without considerable pain to the master. The women who had then gathered around in considerable numbers expressed their fears that it was a rabid or mad cat, and that he would be in danger of hydrophobia. "Never mind," said he with perfect composure, "if it is the will of Providence that I should die in that way, your fretting will not save me." However, if the animal was mad it did not communicate the disease to him, as he lived to become a man of family, and after Kentucky was admitted into the Union as a state, was a member of the legislature. Notwithstanding his wound, Mr. McKinney attended his school that forenoon, but found himself so exhausted and in so much pain that he was obliged to dismiss the school at noon and retire to his bed. By proper applications, he was relieved from pain, his wounds healed rapidly and his usual health was speedily restored. He resided in Bourbon county, Kentucky, in the year 1820, and afterward removed to the State of Missouri, where he died at a good old age.

A temporary peace was made with the Indians at the close of the revolutionary war, and a few years of tran-

quility succeeded. The emigrants of Kentucky looked forward with pleasure to the enjoyment they would have in leaving the garrisons, in which they had been so long pent up; and commencing farms for themselves on the rich lands of the country. But about, or previous to the year 1790, the red men again became troublesome. Generals Harmar, St. Clair, Charles Scott, Wilkinson, and Wayne, successively led armies into their country, with a view to their subjugation. Joel Collins' first tour of duty as a soldier was under the command of General Charles Scott, in the year 1791.* He was attached to a troop of horse commanded by Captain Kenneth McCoy. The expedition consisted of between eight and nine hundred mounted men, who rendezvoused at the mouth of Kentucky river. They started on the 23d of May, 1791, and by the 31st of the month had marched one hundred and thirty-five miles. Their line of march was out by the branches of White river through a stiff clay country and in a heavy rain, which completely destroyed their supplies and wore out both the men and horses with fatigue.

The party proceeded with all possible expedition for the Indian towns on the Wabash river, having marched one hundred and fifty-five miles from the Ohio river. They took and destroyed the Wea and Kickapoo towns; killed thirty-two warriors and took fifty-eight

* For General Scott's official account of this expedition see Dillon's *History of Indiana*, p. 262.

prisoners, some of them women and children. The whites did not lose a man and had only five wounded. The prisoners were taken with a view of exchanging them for an equal number of our women and children who were held in captivity by the Indians. Accordingly an exchange was made the next year, at a treaty held at the mouth of the Great Miami river by the Indian chiefs and General Rufus Putnam, commissioner appointed on the part of the United States for that purpose.

On this expedition Joel Collins rode the only horse that his father owned. In crossing the White river, on their return, the waters being very high, they had to construct rafts of logs for the purpose of ferrying over their prisoners and baggage. A number of the party who could swim stripped, and fastening their clothing to the saddles on their horses, swam them across the stream. It so happened that the horse owned by Mr. Collins being crowded by the other horses against one of the rafts in the river, sunk under it and was drowned, taking with him to the bottom Collins' sword, blanket, and all his clothing. When Collins reached the shore he found himself in rather an unpleasant condition, for a young soldier so far from home. Ensign Fowler stripped off his hunting shirt and gave it to Collins, advising him to put it on and run down the river, perhaps he might see something of the horse and regain his clothing. He did so; a short distance below the landing there was a

small bluff on which one of their party was standing, who called to him to run, for he could see the dead horse floating in the current which beat toward the shore at that place. Collins soon got sight of his horse. He was floating on his back and rubbing against the bottom, being thrown in that position by the weight of the saddle, sword, clothing and a small brass kettle which Collins had taken from the Indians. By starting a proper distance above, he was enabled by diving, to get hold of the girth of the saddle and scramble ashore with the carcass. He recovered his sword and clothing, but had to perform the remainder of the march on foot. The party reached the falls of the Ohio on the 14th of June where the prisoners were left, and Mr. Collins received his discharge and returned home.

We next find him serving as one of an escort of a brigade of pack-horses and engaged in a skirmish with the Indians at Fort St. Clair, which stood about half a mile west of where the town of Eaton, in Preble county, Ohio, now is. The occurrence took place on the 6th of November, 1792. The parties engaged were, two hundred and fifty Wyandott and Mingoe warriors, led by the celebrated Indian chief, Little Turtle, and an escort of one hundred Kentucky militia (mounted riflemen), under the command of Captain John Adair, subsequently governor of Kentucky.

In these days when men were wanting for immediate service for a special purpose it was not unusual for the

field officers of the militia to volunteer and serve for the occasion in grades far below their rank, even down to that of a private soldier. This was the case with Captain Adair and his subalterns on the present occasion. Mr. Collins stated that during the expedition against the Wabash Indians, in 1791, he frequently on mounting guard at night, had for his companion the Honorable John Brown, then a member of the United States senate, from the State of Kentucky, serving as a private soldier. From the earliest settlement of the western country all the common militia who were capable of bearing arms, were at all times subject to be ordered into actual service by the senior officer of the regular army, who might be appointed by the President to command on the western frontier.

It was under this law that all the effective men, whose names were enrolled as the militia of the country of Kentucky, were, in the summer of 1780, ordered by General George Rogers Clark, to join him on the Ohio river at the mouth of Licking river, for the purpose of marching against the Indians residing in their towns on the waters of the Great Miami river. In like manner Generals Harmar and St. Clair made frequent calls on Kentucky for assistance. In the year 1791, two military forts were established in the Indian country north of the Ohio river in advance of Fort Washington, which stood on the ground where Cincinnati now is. The first was Fort Hamilton, the second was Fort Jef-

ferson. Fort St. Clair was built early in the spring of 1792. These forts were about twenty-five miles distant from each other, and the supplies for their support were transported on pack-horses from Fort Washington. It was upon the order of General James Wilkinson, the officer then in command, that the one hundred men who were engaged in the affair at Fort St. Clair were called out to serve as an escort to a brigade of these pack-horses. They could make a trip from Fort Washington to Fort Jefferson and return in six days, and encamp each night under the protection of one of these military posts.

What is here stated in relation to the intentions and movements of the Indians previous to the engagement, was afterward learned from white men who were living with them at the time.

The Indians being elated by the check which they had given to our army under the command of General St. Clair, the previous year, while General Wayne was engaged in making preparations for a more effective and vigorous prosecution of the war the next season, determined to make a descent upon the settlement of Columbia, then forming at the mouth of the Little Miami river. For that purpose, early in the month of November, 1792, the chiefs, with the two hundred and fifty warriors before mentioned, struck the war pole (the Indian mode of enlistment) and took up their line of march. Fortunately for the infant and at that time

rather defenseless settlement then forming at Columbia, the Indians in passing Fort Hamilton discovered a fatigue party with a small guard chopping firewood, east of the fort. This party having retired within the fort, for the purpose of taking their dinner at noon, the Indians formed an ambuscade and captured two of the men, as they were returning to their work, after dinner, about where the Hamilton Basin is now located.

The Indians were informed by these prisoners that on the morning previous (which must have been on Friday) a brigade of nearly a hundred pack-horses loaded with supplies for the two military posts in advance had left Fort Hamilton escorted by a company of riflemen, mounted on fine horses, and that if they made their trip in the usual time they would be again at Fort Hamilton on their return on Monday night. Upon this information, the chiefs abandoned their design of attacking the settlement at Columbia, and fell back some twelve or fifteen miles with the view of intercepting the brigade of pack-horses on their return. They selected a favorable position and formed an ambuscade, which they occupied throughout the day on which, according to the information received from the prisoners, the brigade of pack-horses would probably pass on their return. But as the pack-horses arrived at Fort Jefferson (the post furthest in advance) on Saturday night, Captain Adair permitted his men to rest themselves and

their horses over Sunday, by which circumstances they escaped falling into the ambuscade prepared for them. On Monday morning the brigade of pack-horses with their escort set out on their return, and at night encamped at Fort St. Clair, about two hundred yards east of the post. The Indians being informed of their position by their runners, the chiefs determined on a night attack, by which they considered that they could drive them out of their encampment, and capture the plunder. Accordingly the Indians left their ambush in the night, and some time before daybreak on Tuesday morning, by a discharge of rifles, and raising the hideous savage yells for which they are distinguished, made a simultaneous attack on three sides of the encampment, leaving open the side next to the fort. Captain Adair soon had his men under arms, and retiring formed them, on foot of course, into three divisions just beyond the light of the camp fires on the side next to the fort. And while the Indians were endeavoring to secure the horses and plunder the camp, which appeared to be their main object, they in turn were attacked by the whites; on their right by Captain Adair; on their left by Lieutenant George Madison,* and on their center by Lieutenant Job Hale. The enemy, however, were sufficiently strong to detail a

* Lieutenant Madison was afterward governor of Kentucky. For sketch of his life, see Collins' *Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, p. 310.

fighting party double the number of the whites, to protect those engaged in the work of plunder. And as the side furthest from the fort was left open, they soon began to move off, taking with them the horses and other property they had secured. As soon as day dawned affording sufficient light to distinguish a white man from an Indian, there ensued some pretty sharp fighting, so close, in some instances as to bring into use the war club and tomahawk. Here Lieutenant Hale was killed and Lieutenant Madison badly wounded. As the Indians retreated across Seven Mile creek, the white men followed and hung upon their rear, but when they pressed them too close, the Indians would turn on them and drive them back. In this manner a running fight was kept up until after sunrise, when they lost sight of the enemy near where the town of Eaton now stands. On their return from the pursuit, the camp presented a rather discouraging appearance. Not more than six or eight horses were saved. Some twenty or thirty horses lay dead on the ground. The loss in killed and wounded on the part of the enemy remains unknown. The bodies of two Indians were found dead among the horses that were killed. Our people gathered up their wounded and took them to the fort, where a room was assigned them as a hospital, and their wounds dressed by Surgeon Boyd of the regular army. The wound of one man (John James) consisted in little more than the loss of his scalp. It appeared from his

statement, that in the heat of the action he received a blow on the side of his head with a war club, which stunned him so as barely to knock him down, when two or three Indians fell to skinning his head, and in a few moments took from him an unusually large scalp, and in the hurry of the operation, cut off a piece of one of his ears. He soon recovered and lived many years afterward. Another of the wounded, Luke Voorhees, was living a few years ago in Preble county, Ohio. During the engagement a soldier by the name of Hickman, from Kentucky, received a rifle ball through one of his thighs which broke the bone and so disabled him that he could not stand. He would undoubtedly have fallen into the hands of the Indians, had not Joel Collins taken him upon his back and carried him to a place of safety. This man always affirmed that Collins saved his life; and many years afterward when these transactions had been nearly forgotten, Mr. Collins received a letter from a brother of Hickman, residing in Missouri, thanking him for the noble deed in saving the life of his brother. By sunset on the day of the action, they had prepared some rough coffins with board procured from the fort, in which to place the bodies of those who had fallen, which they consigned to the earth all in one grave. About fifty paces west of where Fort St. Clair stood lies interred the remains of Lieutenant Job Hale; next to him, and on his left, they laid their orderly-sergeant, Matthew English, then followed the

four private soldiers, Robert Bowling, Joseph Clinton, Isaac Jett and John Williams. Dejection and sorrow were expressed on the countenance of every member of the escort, as they stood around, or assisted in the interment of their fallen comrades. Lieutenant Hale was a noble and brave man; fascinating in his appearance and deportment as an officer. It was dusk in the evening before they had completed the performance of the melancholy duty of burying their comrades. What a change! The evening before, nothing within the encampment was to be seen or heard but hilarity and animation; some were feeding, rubbing, and taking care of their horses, others, cooking their evening meal, while those not on duty were measuring their strength and dexterity by athletic exercises.

In relating the circumstance, Mr. Collins said: "He saw and felt the contrast then, and feels it still; but was unable to describe it."

There were two ensigns attached to the escort, Ensign Buchanan, of Kentucky was one. He was not in the action, having been detained at one of the posts by sickness. The other was Ensign Flynn, who then resided in the North-Western Territory, either at Cincinnati or Columbia. His conduct in the action was favorably spoken of by Captain Adair. The men composing the escort were engaged for three months. Having lost their horses they were ordered to serve out the remainder of their term on foot. They were most of the time

employed in herding and guarding beef cattle in the prairie below Fort Hamilton, which were collecting for the supply of General Wayne's army, when it should come on. All the ground between what was lately called the Pond and the Miami river, extending from the outlet of the pond to near where the lower part of the town of Hamilton now is, was a natural prairie, covered with a luxuriant growth of tall grass.

In the early part of December, 1792, the term of service of those men expired. They were paid off and mustered out of service at Fort Washington by Major Cushing of the United States army. Mr. Collins then returned to his home at Lexington, Kentucky.

In the fall of 1793, General Charles Scott marched with one thousand mounted Kentucky militia to aid General Wayne in his expedition against the Indians. They joined the main army near Fort Jefferson on the 15th of October. In this expedition Mr. Collins served as sergeant—the first office he ever held—in Captain Henry Bartlett's company of mounted riflemen. General Wayne, owing to the lateness of the season before he had been able to collect his forces, and being unprepared for a winter campaign, deemed it most prudent to suspend his march and build Fort Greenville, which being accomplished, the regular troops went into winter quarters and the Kentucky militia were discharged and returned home.

The following year Mr. Collins, then residing in

Frankfort, Kentucky, was elected captain of a militia company. His commission, issued by Governor Isaac Shelby, bears date the second day of May, 1794, commissioning him captain in the eleventh regiment of the militia of Kentucky, to continue in office during good behavior. A short time afterward Mr. Collins received and accepted the appointment of first lieutenant in the standing army of the United States. He was ordered to enlist men and establish three military posts, on the wilderness road, being the trace which led from the old settlements in Virginia and the Carolinas to the new settlements in Kentucky. These stations were intended for the protection of the emigrants and others while traveling that road. Lieutenant Collins soon enlisted a number of men to fill up his company. He selected for his position the forks of Richland creek, being near the middle of the wilderness, as it was then called. Here, in the best hunting ground in the western country, Mr. Collins said that the three years spent in that wild region, he considered the most pleasant part of his life.

Although they were compelled at all times to be vigilantly on their guard against the Indians, they succeeded in affording the necessary protection to the emigrants. In one instance a man and child were killed and a woman taken prisoner. This was all the interruption travelers met with during the three years he remained at that station, or until the final treaty of peace

was made with the southern tribes by Governor Blount of Tennessee at Talico block-house on Holstein river.

Mr. Collins had learned from Daniel Boone and others experienced in Indian warfare, the great importance of guarding against a surprise. The red men were expert in stratagem, and would seldom make an attack without having the advantage. On several occasions he profited by his knowledge of this trait of the Indian character. One morning the wild turkeys were heard to gobble on a high hill some distance in front of the fort. Some of the men were about starting out to shoot them. Collins ordered them to desist, telling them of two men that had lost their lives by being decoyed from Boonesborough in this way when the place was first settled, and that Captain Mulford of the regular army and his servant were killed at Fort Jefferson by a similar decoy. Taking three men with him and ordering the rest of the men to remain, he left the fort in a different direction from the one in which the turkeys appeared to be. When they reached a canebrake which was a short distance in the rear of the fort, Collins ordered two of the men to remain and keep a good look out, and in case the enemy had a design of drawing the men out from the fort in front, they were to rush into it from the rear. The other man and Mr. Collins, by a circuitous route, reached the opposite side of the hill from the fort. The woods being somewhat open they advanced abreast, with the utmost caution,

some distance apart. When they arrived near the brow of the hill, Collins' keen eye caught a glimpse of an Indian as he rose from behind a log, and ran or rather darted to the right. Collins instantly sprang behind a tree and beckoned to his companion on his left to do the same. After pausing a little while, they cautiously advanced from tree to tree until they reached the log where Collins had seen the Indian. Under the log was lying an Indian blanket. They then proceeded to make a thorough examination of the premises, and from what they could discover, they came to the conclusion that some four or five Indians were endeavoring to make the decoy they apprehended. Thus, by the precautions used by Mr. Collins, the lives of some of his men were most probably saved. Similar precautions were adopted by him on other occasions.

After Governor Blount had made his treaty with the Indian, he sent a messenger with a letter to Lieutenant Collins, stating that by the stipulations of the treaty, Colonel John Watts, a Cherokee chief, and his people, were to be permitted to cross the Cumberland river, for the purpose of hunting and killing game, during the hunting season of that year, and requested Mr. Collins to meet and remain with those people until a more thorough reconciliation could be made, by bringing on a more familiar intercourse between them and the white people.

At the proper time Lieutenant Collins took with him

a couple of trusty men, and after traveling some thirty or forty miles through the woods, according to the directions of the messenger who brought the letter, they entered the hunting grounds of the Indians, near their camp. They then hoisted a flag which had been agreed upon. It was a half sheet of white paper fastened between the ramrod and stock of the rifle near the muzzle. The messenger was to make known to all the hunting party that this flag would be carried by the man written to, and was to be taken as a token of friendship. When Collins and his two men had come within a mile of the Indian encampment, they were met by two of the red men just starting out to hunt. One of them returned with Collins for the purpose of apprizing the women and children of his approach and pacific intentions, for the war had continued so long that the sight of a white man was terrifying to them. The men being all absent hunting it was as much as the guide could do to keep the women and children from fleeing to the woods on the approach of Collins and his two men. Toward sunset the hunters began to come in, and by dark Colonel Watts and his people had nearly all arrived at their camp, with John Walker, a half-breed, who spoke English and was interpreter. After eating three or four suppers with the colonel and other principal men (it being indecorous to refuse to eat with an Indian when invited, whether you need it or not), a council ring was formed by some forty or fifty

seated on the ground cross-legged. Colonel Watts, with his interpreter, and one or two more, were seated within the ring. Mr. Collins and his two men sat fronting them on the other side of the ring. The following conversation was held through the interpreter:

Colonel Watts, addressing Collins, said:

"Are you a captain or a colonel?"

Collins answered:

"A captain." (For so he was called, although in reality he only drew the pay and emoluments of a lieutenant.)

"Who made you captain?"

"Governor Shelby."

"Is Governor Shelby, you, and all the white people glad that peace is made?"

"Very glad."

"Is the white people willing that we should hunt on this side of the Cumberland river?"

"I can not say that they are, unless I knew that Governor Blount had the consent of Governor Shelby in giving you that privilege."

After talking some time, Walker turned to Collins, and said:

"Colonel Watts says that Shelby's letter says that we may hunt here one year; but after that we must hunt on our own ground."

Collins replied:

"I have heard that that was the agreement, and sup-

pose Governor Blount would tell the truth. I do not suppose there will be any objections, unless it is from a few men who love hunting."

"Is there any beech-nuts and acorns in the mountains, at the heads of Kentucky and Sandy rivers?"

Collins answered:

"I do not know."

"How long will you stay with us?"

"As long as I am needed."

"Will you go with us to the road and tell the white people that we are brothers and friends?"

"I will."

"Is there any body at the stations on the road that keeps powder and lead to sell, or corn that they could trade for?"

"There is not."

"Are not such things sometimes taken along the road to sell?"

"They are."

"If the mast and game are plenty on the head waters of Kentucky river, will you accompany us there?"

"If the cause of peace requires it, I will go."

After consultation, the interpreter said they had concluded not to hunt on to-morrow, but spend the day in swinging their skins and dried meat, with a view of moving their camp the day following to some place near the wilderness trace. Accordingly, the party, consisting of some one hundred and fifty persons, with

seventy or eighty horses, removed and pitched their camp about a quarter of a mile below where the wilderness road crossed Linn-camp creek, a branch of the Cumberland river. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon of the day when the halt was called, and Colonel Watts gave the order for encamping. Every man of the Indians put off for an evening hunt. Mr. Collins went with them, and left the women to prepare the camp. Collins wishing to be in sight of the road, went in that direction. When he crossed it, he aroused a large buck, which ran out of his sight, but was soon fired on by some of the Indians, for Mr. Collins found that the Indians were ahead of him. The deer were very plenty, and the Indians' guns were cracking in every direction. Mr. Collins gave up his hunt and seated himself on a log near the road. When near sunset, he observed two men on horseback traveling on the road toward Kentucky. On seeing Mr. Collins, they halted; but he walked leisurely along the road to meet them. When he came up, they inquired if he knew what the continual shooting in the woods meant. Collins told them that a party of friendly Indians were hunting in the neighborhood.

"My God!" said they, "our people will be scared to death."

Collins replied, "No danger at all."

By this time a long train of pack-horses were seen coming up, with a number of men, women, and chil-

dren. When they had advanced within speaking distance, one of the two men in advance said to them that here was a man who said it was Indians that were shooting in the woods. At this, the whole company appeared to be greatly alarmed, and some of the women commenced crying, declaring that the man belonged to the Indians himself, and intended to have them all killed, begging their husbands to turn back. Upon this, Collins handed his rifle to one of the men and stepped up near where the women were on their horses, and showed them his skin under the clothing, over his wrists, neck, and breast to convince them that he was white, declaring that he was willing that their men should take a rope and tie him fast to a tree, and if the Indians interrupted them or their horses, during the night, he would cheerfully submit to death in the morning. In this manner, Collins quieted their fears and obtained a hearing, when he persuaded them to encamp at the old camping-ground at the crossing of Linn-camp creek. Leaving his gun, knife, and tomahawk with them, two men of their party rode down with him to the Indians, he walking before them. They were kindly received by the Indians, and shook hands all round. After remaining a short time, they were presented with a fat venison, which they accepted, and returned to their camp rejoicing. Next morning the whole party was in the Indian encampment. White women and red ones mixed up in high glee of sociability. The news of the

presence of friendly Indians, near the trace, soon spread, and not a person passed the road during the three weeks that the Indians remained there, without stopping to see them. Friendship being thus restored, Collins left the Indians and returned to the station. In a few months afterward, he received a letter from Governor Shelby, informing him that a peace had been concluded and that his services were no longer needed. On his return, on the twenty-fifth of February, 1797, the governor of Kentucky appointed Mr. Collins a judge of the court of Lincoln county, being the county in which he then resided. In the following month he was married in Fayette county, Kentucky, to Miss Elizabeth Beeler, daughter of Samuel Beeler, and sister of Colonel Samuel Beeler, who was one of the first settlers on the Miami College lands, Oxford, Ohio. He then purchased a farm which he cultivated for several years, though during that time he made one trading voyage, in a flatboat, to New Orleans. In the year 1806 he removed from Kentucky to the State of Ohio, and settled on a small tract of land which he purchased on Four-mile creek, in what is now Oxford township, Butler county. His land being altogether in the woods, and few persons settled near him, at that time, the first business which required his attention was, to build a cabin and clear a piece of ground to plant corn. He spent several years in extending his improvements and attending to the business of his farm. His dwelling was situated near

the mouth of a small stream which empties into Four-mile creek, in the south-east part of the college township, which stream bears the name of Collins' run to this day. On this stream, he constructed a small powder-mill, about twenty feet square, of rough logs, in which he devoted a portion of his time to the manufacture of gunpowder. The little mill, however, has long since disappeared. When the township of Oxford was first organized, in the year 1811, Joel Collins and Levi Lee were the first justices of the peace, who were elected and served. He resigned the office in 1813, when he was appointed a captain in the army of the United States.

In organizing the militia of Butler county, previous to the commencement of hostilities with England,* two rifle companies were ordered to be made up by voluntary enrollment; one company of the militia residing on the east, the other on the west side of the Great Miami river. Mr. Collins enrolled himself as a private soldier, under Captain William Robeson, who had been elected to command the company formed on the west side of the river. Captain Robeson was, however, shortly afterward promoted to the office of brigade major, and the company chose his lieutenant, John Taylor, to be their commander. Taylor died shortly afterward, at the town of Oxford, and Joel Collins was

* Congress declared war against England on the 18th day of June, 1812.

elected to succeed him. His commission bore date the 16th day of May, 1812, giving him the rank of captain of a rifle company; he was attached to the first battalion, second regiment, third brigade, and first division of Ohio militia. In the spring of the year 1812, General James Findlay, of Cincinnati, who had command of the third brigade, sent an order for the two rifle companies in Butler county, to parade in the town of Hamilton on a certain day named. The company which should have the largest number of volunteers on the ground, should have the honor of being taken into the service and attached to Findlay's regiment. (General Findlay acted in the capacity of a colonel in the expedition under General Hull.) Unfortunately for Captain Collins (as he thought at the time) many of his men were prevented from appearing at Hamilton on the day appointed, being unable to cross the streams of water, which were that day flooded by the torrents of rain that had fallen the night previous. Captain John Robinson, who resided on Dick's creek, Lemon township, who commanded the other rifle company, received the appointment. Thus a kind Providence (though much against their wishes) permitted Captain Collins and his men to escape the disaster and disgrace which happened to the first army of the northwest.* They, however, held themselves in readiness for the next call.

* The army under General Hull was surrendered to the British at Detroit on the 16th of August, 1812.

It was determined, in the course of the summer, to furnish the army on the north-western frontier with an additional number of troops from Ohio. The counties of Hamilton, Butler, Warren, and Clermont were required to make up one battalion; the counties north to make up another; the two to compose one regiment.

Early in August, 1812, Captain Collins received orders to march with his company to the town of Lebanon, in Warren county, the place appointed for the rendezvous of the troops from the counties first named. Accordingly, he gave notice to the men composing his rifle company, to parade at Hamilton on the 10th day of August; on which day a company, ninety-two strong including officers, were on the ground, a muster-roll of whom was made out, which is now in my possession.*

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*For muster-roll of his company, see Appendix. Paymaster Torrence writes to Major General John S. Gano, as follows:

FORT HAMILTON, *August* 17, 1812.

SIR: Captain Collins has agreed to meet the detachment at Lebanon, as you wished. I promised to them payment of his company about ten o'clock. He has really one of the finest companies I ever saw; somewhere about one hundred strong. They are a fine, cheerful set of fellows as can be well placed in exercise. Whatever is offered to them, they are ready and willing to march when and where they are wanted. I expect to be in Cincinnati to-morrow. They have some tents and are preparing more. They expect orders from you for marching.

I am, Sir, respectfully,

Your ob't servant,

GEORGE P. TORRENCE.

They then marched to Lebanon, where they were joined by three other companies of riflemen, respectively commanded by Captain McMeans, Captain Leonard, and Captain Hinkle; also, a company of artillery, under the command of Captain Joseph Jenkinson, and a company of light infantry, commanded by Captain Matthias Corwin. In the evening, the commissioned officers met and elected Joseph Jenkinson their Major. The command of his company then devolved upon Lieutenant Gibson. Thus organized, they met the next day and took up their line of march for Urbana, by the way of Dayton, making quite a formidable appearance. But before they reached the town of Dayton, they received the news that General Hull and the whole of his army were made prisoners by the enemy; and that the British with their Indian allies were rapidly advancing upon the frontier settlements of Ohio. When they arrived at Urbana, they were joined by the second battalion, under the command of Major James Galloway, of Xenia. The commissioned officers of the two battalions, having assembled, elected David Sutton, of Warren county, colonel, to command the regiment. Colonel Sutton had raised a company and gone out with the first army as a captain. He had been sent into the interior, by the order of General Hull, for the purpose of transacting some business connected with the army, and consequently was not present at the time of their capitulation. He was with Jenkinson's bat-

talion, on his return, when they received the intelligence of Hull's surrender. Any person alive now, who was living at that time must remember the consternation that this news produced throughout the whole community. So strong a feeling of patriotism pervaded the country, at that time, that it appeared as if every able-bodied man who could possibly raise a horse and gun was on the move for the frontier. In a few days a large, promiscuous multitude were assembled in and about Urbana; but they were without leaders and knew not what to do. At length Governor Meigs, General Tupper, with other leading characters, appeared on the ground with the agreeable news that General Harrison was coming on to take the command. Harrison was then governor of Indiana territory, he had been invited to Frankfort, Kentucky, by Charles Scott, governor of Kentucky, to consult on the subject of defending the north-western frontier. Governor Scott, on the 25th of August, 1812, appointed William Henry Harrison, major general of the Kentucky militia, which appointment he accepted. This measure, although complained of by some at the time, appears to have answered a good purpose. The supposed defection of General Hull had implanted a spirit of suspicion and distrust in the minds of both officers and men; and some of them were not slow to express themselves unwillingly to enter the service under the command of any but a man of acknowledged patriotism,

and who possessed, at least, some experience in the science of war. The appointment of General Harrison, therefore, seemed to be a measure called for by the public feeling at the time. On the seventeenth day of September following, the president of the United States appointed General Harrison commander-in-chief of all the troops in the North-Western Territory. Governor Meigs gave orders for the troops to spread out for the purpose of protecting the frontiers. In making this arrangement, it was deemed proper to divide Colonel Sutton's regiment. Major Jenkinson with his battalion (to which Captain Collins belonged) were ordered to file to the left, by way of Troy and Piqua, in a direction for Fort Wayne, while the Colonel with Major Galloway's battalion were to join the troops destined to form the center, and took up their line of march in a direction for Fort McArthur. Soon after Jenkinson's battalion arrived at Piqua, General Harrison appeared on the left wing, with two or three regiments from Kentucky, and assumed the command.

The first Kentucky troops that arrived on the Ohio frontier after the surrender of Hull, were a brigade of militia under the command of Brigadier General John Payne, consisting of Colonels John M. Scott, William Lewis, and John Allen's regiments. They arrived at Piqua on the 3d of September, 1812. General Harrison, now learning that Fort Wayne was about to be besieged by the Indians, put himself at the head of

General Payne's brigade and marched for the relief of that garrison. A regiment of Ohio volunteers, under the command of Ex-governor Worthington, had previously marched for that place. The enemy learning the near approach of our army, abandoned their positions around the fort and fled in dismay. General Payne's brigade was stationed at Fort Wayne, and General Harrison returned to St. Mary's.

Immediately after the Kentucky volunteers had left Piqua, Major Jenkinson called a meeting of his captains and informed them that he had orders to send one company as an escort of a train of wagons on their way to Fort Wayne; one company to act as road cutters, to open a wagon way along Wayne's old trace from Fort Loramies to St. Mary's, and another company to relieve a company of militia from Ohio, stationed at Loramies. The residue of the battalion to remain at Piqua for further orders. Major Jenkinson permitted the captains to decide the matter by lot, as to what company should be assigned to each particular duty. Tickets were accordingly prepared and placed in a hat. On drawing them out it fell to the lot of Captain Collins and his company to open the road. They performed that duty in about eight days, and were directed to remain in their last encampment (which was within two miles of St. Mary's) until further orders. They remained at this camp two weeks. One night, about ten o'clock, while they were

lying at that place, Lieutenant Nathaniel McClain came to them, as an express, to inform them that Captain Corwin's company, which was acting as an escort to twenty wagons loaded with valuable supplies for the army, were encamped about three miles in their rear; that there was good reason to apprehend that a party of Indians intended to make an attack on the escort before morning; and that Captain Corwin wished Captain Collins to reinforce him with as many men as he could spare. Captain Collins soon had his company on parade, and had to make a detail of men to remain and keep their own camp, for every man wanted to go to the relief of their comrades. Captain Collins, with more than half his company, moved off in quick time. Lieutenant McClain led the way, he being mounted on a horse furnished him by the wagoners. When Captain Collins arrived at the camp, Captain Corwin was himself going the rounds relieving his guards, at that part of the line of sentinels which they first reached. He informed Captain Collins that a considerable number of the Wabash Indians (who pretended friendship for the whites) had visited the settlements in the neighborhood of Piqua, with the expectation that the inhabitants would afford them maintenance through the winter. But our army needed all the spare provisions; and the people, after these Indians had been among them a few weeks, became tired of them, and insisted on their returning

to their own homes. They had left in rather an angry mood, two or three days before the departure of the wagons for Fort Wayne. It was also reported to him, by some of his men, that Indians had been seen in the dusk of the evening, near his encampment, apparently in the act of spying out his position. Besides, it seemed reasonable to suppose that the contents of those wagons afforded a strong temptation to a band of starving savages, who, they had every reason to believe, were within striking distance, and who knew that these wagons were loaded with the provisions they so much needed. He had thrown out a guard sufficiently strong to form a close chain of sentinels entirely around his encampment, at least one hundred and fifty paces in advance of the wagons. It was decided that out of the reinforcements now arrived, a second chain of sentinels should be made fifty paces in advance of the first line. Accordingly, Captain Collins proceeded to place at that distance one of his men opposite to each space between the sentinels of the first chain. While in the performance of that duty, Collins heard the snap of a musket, nearly in the direction he was going.

"Hail, sentinel!"

"Who comes there?"

"Captain Collins, on his way placing out another line of sentinels."

"Good Lord! If my musket had not missed fire, you would have been a dead man."

"Call the sergeant to go round and let the guards know of this arrangement."

Here, Mr. Collins observed, was an error committed for want of thought. A notice of the plan adopted should have been given to the sentinels, before its execution commenced. This shows what a necessary ingredient ready wit is in the mind of a soldier. Mr. Collins, however, said that he could not well censure Captain Corwin for not performing that duty or making the suggestion, as he claimed to outrank him, because of his age and experience, though it was a military blunder that had nearly cost him his life.

The encampment was not disturbed by the Indians during the night, but in the opinion of those experienced in Indian warfare, it was believed that had the matter been inquired into at the close of the war, it would have been confessed by the enemy that the care and vigilance of the escort in guarding against a surprise prevented them from making the attempt. It will be recollected that these same Indians, shortly afterward, became so hostile and took such a decided part against the whites, that a regiment of six hundred men, composed of a few regulars, a volunteer company from Pennsylvania, under the command of Captain Markle, and some militia from Kentucky and Ohio, were sent out under the command of Colonel Campbell of the regular army, to drive them from their towns and destroy their habitations. But before the Colonel could finish his job, the Indians

collected in great numbers and gave him battle, adopting the novel plan of driving a Roman wedge through one of the lines of his hollow square. Colonel Campbell and his men, however, being on their guard and well prepared, succeeded in repulsing the enemy, with the loss on his part of some fifty men in killed and wounded.

There are many well known instances where the Indians have abandoned a meditated attack because they could not find the white people off their guard, and therefore, could not take them by surprise. Now, if Colonel Campbell of the standing army has justly received the applause of his countrymen, for saving himself with the loss of fifty men killed and wounded, surely there can be no impropriety in thinking well of a young militia captain who, by his own care and the vigilance of his men, saved all without losing anything. Some will attribute the caution of a young officer to a timorous or even fearful disposition. This is not always the case. Mr. Collins stated that he had often known Simon Kenton to call his men under arms at the hooting of an owl or the howl of a wolf, and there is no one who would suppose he would thus act from a principle of fear.

Captain Collins and his company were afterward stationed at St. Mary's. While they were there a number of volunteers, sufficient to form another regiment, arrived from Kentucky. On the morning after their

arrival, Captain Collins noticed that they were drawn up on parade in a solid column. There was a gentleman of good appearance in front, facing the column, engaged in delivering a speech to the soldiers. After Mr. Collins had taken a position where he could see and hear, he recognized in the orator, Richard M. Johnson, a lawyer whom he had formerly seen in Kentucky, and who, he understood, was at that time a member of congress from that state. He learned from his discourse that the regiment was about to elect a colonel to command it, and that he was a candidate for that office. In the course of his remarks, he observed if they should think proper to choose him as their commander, he would in all times of danger take a position where he would be most likely to "receive the first fire from the enemy." Mr. Collins gave his opinion that although Colonel Johnson literally and most gallantly afterward redeemed this pledge at the battle of the Thames, he strongly objected to the propriety of making any promises or pledges of the kind in advance.

Mr. Collins said, that in order to keep alive the spirit of patriotism, it was contended by Colonel Joe Daviess, a prominent lawyer of Kentucky, who fell in the battle of Tippecanoe, that the American people ought to pick a quarrel and have a war with somebody at least once in every fifteen years. He said in Mr. Collins' hearing, "I hope that our present difficulties with England will produce a war. Then we can have an oppor-

tunity to exhibit our patriotism, by taking Canada, and after peace, restoring to them their territory again; and let it lie as a bone of contention, over which in due time another war may be brought on." History tells us in what manner the life of this distinguished citizen was thrown away at the battle of Tippecanoe, which was fought on the 7th of November, 1811, before war was declared against England.

After General Jackson had defeated the Seminole Indians at the Horseshoe, the officer who commanded the rear guard during the action, was entering a loud complaint to the General for placing him in a position which deprived him of participating in the honors of the victory. While he was preferring his complaint, it was reported to the General that there were some three or four Indians concealed in a cave in a bluff adjoining the battle ground, who shot every man that attempted to get them out. "Now, sir," said General Jackson, "cease your complaints, and go and get those Indians out of the cave dead or alive." He promptly obeyed the order, but lost two or three of his men and was himself badly wounded. But for his boasting, these Indians might and probably would have been captured or killed without any loss.

Colonel Richard M. Johnson succeeded in his election, and was ordered to report himself to General Winchester, who had arrived and assumed the command of the army at Fort Wayne, which, with the addition of this

regiment, numbered about three thousand men. The hostile Indians on the Wabash and Illinois, having thrown themselves under the protection of the British at Fort Malden, in Upper Canada, General Winchester left a small garrison for the protection of Fort Wayne and moved with his army down the Maumee. In the mean time, General Harrison being still at St. Mary's, had received his commission of major general in the regular army of the United States. He had ordered Colonel William Jennings, with his regiment of volunteer infantry from Kentucky, to join General Winchester at old Fort Defiance, at the mouth of the Auglaize river, with a large drove of beef cattle, and other army supplies. Colonel Jennings was advised of the probable time at which General Winchester would arrive at Defiance; and was ordered not to advance nearer than ten or fifteen miles without having certain intelligence that the army had arrived there. Our spies, however, discovered that old Fort Defiance, at which they were to form this junction, was occupied by the British and Indians, at least three days after the time set for General Winchester's arrival there. This intelligence was immediately communicated by express to the commanding general at St. Mary's; who ordered that the troops at that place should forthwith be supplied with three days' rations, and an additional supply of gun-flints and ammunition. And by three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, Colonels Poage's and

Barbee's regiments of Kentucky volunteers, Colonel Simrall's regiment of dragoons, Garrard's troop of horse, also from Kentucky, and Captain Collins' company of riflemen from Butler county, Ohio, amounting in all to upward of two thousand men, were put in motion on a forced march, to ascertain what had become of General Winchester; the light horse in front, Captain Collins' company of riflemen forming the rear guard. The troops marched on at a quick step in this order until it became dark, when a halt was called. General Harrison, in riding round to form the hollow square, ordered Captain Collins to fill up with his company the space in the rear line, between the two Kentucky regiments of infantry, and to throw out a guard sufficiently strong to protect his own front. At the break of day, next morning, the bugles sounded and they were again in motion. Shortly after sunrise it commenced raining and continued to rain hard all day. But they pushed on without making a single halt until four o'clock in the afternoon, when they arrived at Jennings' encampment at the mouth of the Little Auglaize. The men being burdened with heavy packs and drenched in the rain, had a most fatiguing and disagreeable day's travel. Toward evening, it was observed that numbers of the Kentuckians were lying by the way side entirely exhausted and unable to proceed. Many of them were young gentlemen who had been delicately raised and were unaccustomed to hardships of this kind. Captain

Collins and Ensign John Hall of his company, being originally from Kentucky, were rather disposed to sympathize with them; Lieutenant Ephraim Gard of the company, when he came to where any number of them had given out, would sing out at the top of his voice: "Hook up, my rugged sons of Ohio, these brave Kentuckians will soon be able to relieve the rear guard." As further provocation, some of the riflemen would spring up and strike their heels together as they passed. General Harrison was informed by an express which met him at Fort Jennings, that the enemy had retreated, and that General Winchester with his army now occupied the ground at Fort Defiance. He thereupon gave orders that the regiments of Colonels Barbee and Poage, and Captain Collins' company of riflemen, should remain at Fort Jennings until further orders, and he continued his march for Defiance, taking with him Colonel Simrall's regiment of dragoons and Colonel Garrard's troop of horse. On the next morning, Colonel Jennings (with whom Captain Collins had been acquainted in Kentucky, and to whom he had reported himself on the previous evening) came to where Captain Collins' company were encamped, and inquired for some men called mounted rangers (a small company of whom had been for some time in the employ of the army as spies), stating that General Harrison had informed him that some of those men were in the rear and would be up that night; and left orders that one or two of them

should be sent with two friendly Indians, to ascertain whether the enemy in retreating had not taken the direction of Fort Wayne. Captain Collins was unable to give him any account of the men inquired for. Colonel Jennings appeared to be much disappointed, and expressed his fears that the General would not receive the needful information in time. Captain Collins told him, that rather than that should be the case, if the General had left no orders for the disposition of his company, he would, if furnished with a good horse, go with the Indians, make the examination and report to the General that night. This offer was readily accepted, and Captain Collins commenced making preparations for his departure.

In October, 1812, a short time before General Winchester left Fort Wayne and marched his army down the valley of the Maumee, as before stated, a detachment of the British army, under the command of Major Meaur, accompanied by Tecumseh and his warriors, were ordered from Malden, to ascend the Maumee river in keel-boats, taking with them several pieces of battering cannon, with a view of reducing Fort Wayne. It was this army which our spies reported as being in possession of the ground at Defiance, where Colonel Jennings was ordered to form a junction with General Winchester. This was the cause of the forced march before mentioned, and the occasion of Captain Collins having proposed to go as a spy to ascertain what had

become of the enemy. A horse and saddle were soon provided for Captain Collins. As soon as he was mounted, Colonel Jennings brought to him the two Indians and James Conner, an interpreter. The Indian guides were young men, said to be brothers, belonging to a tribe residing on the Auglaize river. They were directed to pilot Captain Collins to a point on the Maumee river, six miles above old Fort Defiance. One of the guides, through the interpreter, requested Captain Collins to remove a handkerchief which he had tied on his head, and by all means to keep his hat on; for there was danger of their being taken as belonging to the enemy and fired on by the Kentuckians. Captain Collins took the hint and complied with the request. The Colonel ordered him to satisfy himself, by a careful examination, whether the enemy had or had not evaded the army of General Winchester, and were still on their march for Fort Wayne. They then started on their journey, and after they were clear of the encampment, the elder of the two guides gave Captain Collins to understand that while they would be careful to keep the proper course, the other man and Collins were to keep a good look-out in every direction, intimating that there was danger of their falling in with the enemy. By pushing their horses as fast as they were able to go, they arrived at Maumee river, above Defiance, a short time before night, and by the time they had made an examination sufficient to satisfy themselves that the enemy

had not taken that direction, it commenced getting dark. Captain Collins being much fatigued, and observing that the horses needed rest and time to feed, proposed that they should encamp for the night; but the guides insisted that by taking the trail made by Johnson's regiment of horse in marching down, they could find the main army that night, and by signs gave him to understand that it was not more than four miles distant. Accordingly, they hurried on, and about nine o'clock came in hearing of horse bells; upon which the guides halted, and when Captain Collins came up, one of them, placing his mouth close to Collins' ear, said, in a low voice,

"Hallison, Hallison."

"Yes, yes," Collins replied, "General Harrison is here; come on," and took his position in front of the guides. It was so dark that they were unable to see each other. They, however, soon came to a piece of rising ground which brought them in full view of the fires of the encampment, which extended down the river as far as they could see. When they came to where they supposed they were near the chain of sentinels, the Indians commenced hurrying their horses by a peculiar kind of language, mixed with coughing and whistling, sufficiently loud to apprise the guards of their approach. In a short time they were hailed by a sentinel, not more than twenty paces in advance of them.

"Who comes there?"

"Two friendly Indians and a white man, who have been out spying by order of General Harrison. Can we pass?"

"Well, I suppose you may go along."

In the same manner they hailed at the guard fire, and were permitted to pass into the encampment. This seeming want of vigilance grew out of the necessity there was for permitting the horsemen to pass out and return through the chain of sentinels, for the purpose of procuring grass for their horses. At length they came to where they heard quite an animated and apparently warm conversation, which seemed to be going on in a marquee near the center of the encampment. Among the voices engaged, Captain Collins readily recognized that of the commanding general; upon which he dismounted, and leaving his horse in the care of the guides, approached sufficiently near to the entrance of the marquee, to observe that some half dozen of officers were seated within it. General Harrison was somewhat intently engaged in telling them what ought to have been done. He made use of language which Collins construed as censuring them in pretty strong terms, for permitting the enemy to make good their retreat. Captain Collins observed that General Payne and his brother-in-law, Colonel Richard M. Johnson, were among the officers present, and that these gentlemen in participating in the conversation, frequently made replies to the General in the way of justi-

fying themselves. In consequence of this, Captain Collins was detained some time before an opportunity was presented to make his report. At length General Harrison rising up, said,

"Well, gentlemen, we have said enough on this subject for the present. Good night."

Captain Collins understood that on General Harrison's arrival at the encampment, he first called on General Winchester, at his marquee, and that some tolerably sharp words had passed between them, in relation to the movements of the army. On General Harrison coming out of General Payne's marquee, Captain Collins made himself and his business known to him. General Harrison expressed some surprise at seeing him there, and inquired what he had done with his company. To which Captain Collins gave an explanation, and was about to report the discoveries made by him as a spy, when General Harrison interrupted him, by saying that the enemy had left the neighborhood and retreated down the river some five or six days before. At the request of General Harrison, Captain Collins went with him to his marquee, where Major Smith, one of his aides-de-camp had kindled a large fire. While his servants were preparing supper, the General drew off his boots and seated himself on a mess-box, with his elbows resting on his knees, holding a wet sock in each hand, which he was endeavoring to dry by the fire. It had rained in the course of the day. Captain Collins

placed himself by the opposite side of the fire, with a view also of drying his clothes. While the General sat there, apparently absorbed in deep thought, Captain Collins said he could not well avoid reflecting on the tremendous load of responsibility that rested on the individual before him at that hour. After they had enjoyed themselves by the fire some fifteen or twenty minutes in this manner, General Payne came to the fire and said,

"General Harrison, I know that good, substantial military reasons can be given for the supposed tardiness of our march from Fort Wayne down to this place, and if a knowledge of all the facts could be brought to your mind, your views on the subject would be different from those you have expressed."

Upon which, General Harrison rose to his feet, and, holding out his right hand, said,

"Give us your hand, General. Let us forget the past, and in friendship strive in future to do all we can for the public good. I may be incorrect in some things; but let us all try to do better hereafter."

General Payne then left, apparently much relieved. Captain Collins stated that from what he heard that night and the next morning, it appeared that the army under General Winchester were much retarded in their march by the great difficulty of opening a road for the transporting of their baggage and cannon, together with the frequent alarms, occasioned by small parties of

Tecumseh's warriors, discovered to be hanging on the front and flanks of the army during the latter part of its march. A quartermaster carelessly threw himself out of the protection of the army, and was taken prisoner while endeavoring with a hook and line to procure for himself a mess of fish out of the river. Ensign Liggett, of the regular army (a youth without experience), was permitted with some six or eight men to march as spies, a mile or two in advance of the front guards. He imprudently marched along a trace which led down the river until he came to a place where he observed that some wild plums had been laid in the path; upon which the party halted, and while they were eating the plums they were fired on by the Indians. The ensign and several of his men were shot dead on the spot, and one or two of the party were missing, supposed to have been taken prisoners.

Captain Collins said he had not an opportunity of hearing General Winchester's statement, but from what he did hear, he was induced to believe that he acted the part of a prudent, careful general throughout the whole affair. He heard the remarks of Colonel Johnson in the marquee, and was inclined to the opinion that General Payne was correct, in thinking it probable that the commander-in-chief, if he had been present, would have acted in the same manner.

On the next morning, Captain Collins was ordered by General Harrison to retrace his steps to Fort Jen-

nings, take command of his company and return to St. Mary's; where they went into winter quarters and remained until their term of service expired, in March, 1813, when they were discharged and returned to their homes. While Captain Collins and his company remained at St. Mary's, some of the officers in command of the Kentucky troops, who were continually passing and repassing, stated to a part of his company, who were on detached duty, that they knew Captain Collins from a boy, and that if ever he came in contact with the enemy, they would find him to be "a fighting man."

Some of the Kentuckians at times felt themselves at liberty to charge the Ohians with cowardice, in not rushing to the relief of Fort Wayne when it was besieged by the enemy. This produced a high *esprit de corps*, and was often the subject of conversation. But as it was known that Captain Collins was on the line, and had the command of a rifle company from Ohio, there were a few old officers among the Kentuckians who were not slow to make an exception in his favor. Every member of the rifle company from Butler county, at the expiration of their term of service, returned home in safety, without a scar. They had not the fortune to be ordered into battle, consequently they returned unincumbered with those laurels and high honors which some imagine can only be obtained on the battle-field. Still, it is justly claimed for them that they did good service in opening roads, making water-craft

to transport supplies down the St. Mary's river, and pushing on provisions and other needful supplies for the use of the army. They did their duty by promptly performing any service that was required of them by those in command.

Immediately after Mr. Collins returned home, in 1813, he received the appointment of captain in the standing army of the United States, and was ordered to proceed to Cincinnati and enlist men for the service. He soon had twenty-three men enlisted, when he was ordered to rendezvous at Franklinton. He left Hamilton, in company with Lieutenant Alexander Delorac, early in the month of October, and proceeded to Franklinton, where they remained about a month, when they were ordered to Sandusky, and from thence to Detroit, where he was stationed for some time. On the 4th of March, 1814, he was appointed to the command of the force at Sandwich, in Canada, and proceeded to build the fort at that place. He was, also, for a short time, commander of Fort Malden, in Canada. He was afterward ordered back to Detroit, where he took command of the place, and continued in the service until the close of the war in 1815, when he retired from the army with credit and honor to himself. He then returned to his farm in Oxford township. During the time Captain Collins was in the army he disbursed considerable sums of money on account of the government, and when he retired from the service his accounts

were promptly closed, and a small balance found due to him from the government by the accounting officers.

In a letter received by the writer of this sketch from Joel Collins, in relation to citizens of Butler county who served in the war of 1812, he writes:

"Brigadier John Wingate, with his brigade major William Robeson, served a tour of six months' duty in the army of the north-western frontier. Colonel James Mills, with his regiment, assisted in defending Fort Meigs during both the times it was besieged by the enemy. Captain John Hamilton was wounded and Lieutenant Harper was killed in Dudley's defeat at the river Raisin. I saw Colonel Thomas Irwin at Detroit in the winter of 1814. He had with him at least two companies from Butler county. I regret being unable to recollect the names of his captains and other officers. I saw passing through Detroit, in the summer of 1814, a company of mounted riflemen from Butler county, under the command of Captain Zachariah P. Dewitt, of Oxford township. They had volunteered to accompany General McArthur, who that summer made an incursion into the enemy's country with about five hundred mounted volunteers. They met and dispersed some of the advanced parties of the enemy engaged in collecting supplies near the center of the province of Upper Canada, at a place called Ramsours' Mills.

"In making up the officers of the Twenty-sixth regiment of United States infantry, four lieutenants were selected from Butler county, to-wit: Robert Anderson, Alexander Delorac, John Hall, and Anderson Spencer. Lieutenant Anderson was early sent on with the first recruits. He volunteered at Lower Sandusky, and served with distinction as an officer of marines

in the naval force on Lake Erie. Lieutenant Delorac marched with me to Fort Malden, in Upper Canada, and did faithful service in that region. He was my messmate, and a most agreeable companion. I understood that the other gentlemen were ordered to the Niagara frontier, and remained in the service during the war. Bur few of those remain with whom I acted in those times. Nearly all the officers that I have named have died, while I am left to scribble and relate old 'Indian and hunting stories,' known to be particularly gratifying to a backwoodsman in his old days, for which I thank a kind Providence."

In October, 1817, Joel Collins was elected a representative in the general assembly of Ohio from Butler county, and re-elected every successive term until the year 1823, when he was elected to the senate from that district. Thus he served in the legislature of Ohio ten years in succession, during which time he discharged his duties as a legislator with honor to himself and to the satisfaction of his constituents. On the 20th of July, 1829, Allen Trimble, governor of the State of Ohio, appointed Mr. Collins associate judge of the court of common pleas for the county of Butler, in the room of Henry Weaver, Esq., who had resigned, to serve until the end of the next session of the general assembly, at which session he was elected to the same office, and commissioned to hold the office for the term of seven years, from the 24th day of February, 1830. During the time he occupied a seat on the bench he discharged his duty faithfully, and to the satisfaction of

all parties. On the expiration of his term he declined being a candidate for re-election. In June, 1822, he was appointed by the board of trustees secretary of the Miami university, which office he held until June, 1855, a term of thirty-three years, when he resigned. During a considerable portion of the time he was also superintendent of the college grounds and college buildings, the duties of which he discharged with fidelity and care. On Mr. Collins resigning the office of secretary, the board of trustees then in session, on the 28th of June, 1855, unanimously passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That in consideration of the long and faithful services, and the great purity of character of our venerable secretary, Joel Collins, the president of this board cause to be prepared and presented to him a silver pitcher, with proper inscription, at our next annual meeting, the cost not to exceed thirty dollars.

The pitcher was prepared and presented as directed.

Joel Collins had a strong and muscular frame, well fitted to endure the hardships of a frontier life. In all the walks of private life, socially and politically, he was esteemed an honest man. In politics he was a whig of the old school. But even those opposed to him in politics, when speaking of him, would say: "Joel Collins is an honest man." In the year 1833 he made a public profession of his belief in the truth of the

Bible and the Christian religion, and connected himself with a congregation of disciples called Reformed Baptists, and ever afterward continued to be a consistent member. He built a meeting house in the town of Oxford for that denomination of Christians.

Mr. Collins and Elizabeth, his wife, lived happily together for upward of fifty-eight years. They had no children. Mrs. Collins died at Oxford on the 1st day of August, 1855, aged seventy-seven years. Mr. Collins, on the 25th day of April, 1858, married Mrs. Mary Woodruff, a widow lady of Oxford, aged about sixty-five years. Although in extreme old age, Mr. Collins enjoys good health, and retains to a considerable degree the use of all his mental faculties. His memory, especially of the events of his youth, is clear and vivid, and he delights to look back to the farthest extremity of the long vista of his life, and recall the acts and incidents of his early years.*

* Joel Collins died at Oxford, Ohio, on the 16th day of November, 1860, in the 89th year of his age.

APPENDIX.

Muster Roll of Captain Joel Collins' Volunteer Company of Riflemen.

Captain—Joel Collins.

Lieutenant—Ephraim Gard.

Ensign—John Hall.

Sergeants—Jeremiah Gard, David Sutton, Joseph Haines, John Price.

Corporals—Zachariah Parrish, Joseph Douglas, George Sutton, Jacob Gard.

Musicians—Hays Taylor, Henry Thompson.

Privates.

John Scott.	Alexander Steele.	Richard Scott.	John Bone.
John Malone.	Simeon Broadberry.	John Simmons.	Archibald Starks.
Samuel Gray.	James Broadberry.	Thomas Stephens.	Eber Watson.
William Smith.	Thomas Wilson.	Chris. Mosteller.	Geo. Kirkpatrick.
Isaac Watson.	James Anderson.	David Smith.	John Smiley.
Nicholas Woodfin.	James Martin.	James Smiley.	John Deneen.
John Shields.	George Teagarden.	John Brown.	Jacob Garver.
Henry Jones.	George Beeler.	William McMannis,	Jacob Kerr.
Andrew Smith.	Silas Owens.	Jacob Salmon.	James Cooper.
Benjamin Pines.	Samuel Stephens.	John McKinstry.	Wm. De Camp.
Joseph McMahan.	George Boyers.	John Sackett.	James Kerr.
Jacob Gates.	Peter Garver.	Vincent Dilcoe.	Joseph Wickard.
William Rainy.	Joseph Price.	William Sullivan.	John Thompson.
Jacob Rinehart.	Patrick Sullivan.	William Heath.	Joseph Welliver.
Andrew Lintner.	Samuel Steel.	Thomas Howard.	Isaac Rutledge.
Jacob Dickard.	Samuel Simpson.	John Harper.	Robert Crane.
William Teagard.	James McNeal.	William Sutton.	Moses Gard.
Samuel Thompson.	John Hyde.	Andrew Woods.	Robert Orbison.
Robert Taylor.	Samuel Malone.	John Isaacs.	Philip McGonigle.
Robinson Newkirk.	John Smiley.	John Stonebraker.	

IV.

Isaac Anderson.

ISAAC ANDERSON was long and favorably known in Butler county, Ohio, having been a resident of the county and state more than forty years. His life was an eventful one, and if written by an able hand would be interesting and instructive. He was born in the county Donegal, in the north of Ireland, September 15, 1758, and was the youngest of thirteen children. When about twelve years old both his parents died within a short time of each other, and there being no legal guardian appointed for him, he was left pretty much to his own control, and in after life was often heard to say, that until he arrived at near the age of fourteen he was a self-willed and very rude boy. At that time, however, he resolved to reform, and at once became industrious and steady. He took to studying, and in two years acquired some proficiency in mathematics and made himself master of the art of surveying. He then, at the age of sixteen, determined to seek his fortune in America, at that time a colony of Great Britain. Accordingly he sailed from Donegal and landed at Philadelphia in the early part of the year 1774. During the passage he kept up

his mathematical studies by learning navigation under the tuition of the captain.

Several of his brothers and sisters had come to America some years previous, and settled in Virginia, where great numbers of their descendants are yet residing. Young Isaac did not choose to seek for them, preferring to rely upon his own exertions. Accordingly he stopped in Pennsylvania until the spring or summer of the year 1776, when, the war with Great Britain having commenced, he shouldered his knapsack and rifle and tendered his services to the country of his adoption. He was soon enrolled in Colonel Morgan's rifle regiment, and from that time was an active intrepid soldier of the Revolution to the end of the war.

General Schuyler, who had the command of the American army belonging to the Northern department, was superseded by General Gates on the 19th of August, 1777. The day after General Gates assumed the command, Colonel Morgan arrived with his corps, five hundred strong, to which were presently added two hundred and fifty picked men under Major Dearborn. This made the American army about six thousand strong, besides detached parties of militia under General Lincoln, which hung on the British rear. The first, or nearly first effective service in which Mr. Anderson was engaged, with the newly organized corps of Colonel Morgan, was at the battle of Bemis Heights, between the American army under the command of General

Gates and the British army commanded by General Burgoyne. This battle was fought on the 19th of September, 1777, three miles above Stillwater. Colonel Morgan's regiment was detached to observe the motions of the enemy, and to harrass them as they advanced. They soon fell in with the pickets of the enemy in advance of their right wing, attacked them sharply and drove them in. A strong corps was immediately dispatched by the enemy against Morgan, who, after a brisk engagement was in turn compelled to give way. Another regiment being ordered to the assistance of Morgan, whose riflemen had been considerably cut up by the vigor of the attack, the battle was renewed about one o'clock and maintained with spirit, though with occasional pauses, for three hours; the commanders on both sides supporting and reinforcing their respective parties. By four o'clock the battle became general, nine Continental regiments and Morgan's corps having completely engaged the whole right wing of the enemy. The British had four field pieces. The ground occupied by the Americans, a thick wood on the borders of an open field did not admit of the use of artillery. On the opposite side of the field, on a rising ground, in a thin pine wood the British troops were drawn up. Whenever they advanced into the open field, the fire of the American marksmen drove them back in disorder; but when the Americans followed into the open ground, the British would rally, charge, and force them to fall back. The field

was thus lost and won a dozen times in the course of the day. At every charge the British artillery fell into the possession of the Americans, but the ground would not allow them to carry off the pieces, nor could they be kept long enough to be turned on the enemy. "It was," said General Wilkinson, "one of the longest, warmest, and most obstinate battles fought in America," where the soldiers were often engaged hand to hand. The darkness of night terminated the battle on the spot where it began. The Americans withdrew to their camp, leaving the field in the possession of the British. They encamped upon it and claimed the victory; but, if not a drawn battle, it was one of those victories equivalent to a defeat. The British loss in the action was upward of five hundred; the American less than three hundred. The second battle in which Mr. Anderson participated was fought on the 7th of October, following, about six miles from Saratoga. The camps of the American and British armies were hardly cannon shot apart. General Burgoyne, to make a reconnoissance of the American lines, drew out fifteen hundred picked men and formed them less than a mile from the American camp. As soon as his position was discovered by the Americans, his left was furiously assailed by Poor's New Hampshire brigade. The attack extended rapidly to the right, where Morgan's riflemen maneuvered to cut off the British from their camp. To avoid being thus left unsupported, the British right was already retreating,

when the left, pressed and overpowered by the Americans, began to give way. The gallant British general, Frazer, was mortally wounded, picked off by an American marksman. Six pieces of artillery were abandoned, and only by the greatest efforts did the British troops regain their camp. The Americans, following close upon them, and, through a shower of grape and musketry, assaulted the right of the British works. The Americans entered the intrenchments of a German brigade, and forced them from the ground at the point of the bayonet, capturing a part of the works with their camp equipage and artillery, and what was of still more importance and a great relief to the American army, an ample supply of ammunition. The repeated attempts of the British to dislodge them failed, and they remained at night in the possession of the works. Darkness at length put an end to the fighting; but the Americans slept on their arms, prepared to renew the conflict the next morning. The advantages the Americans had gained were decisive. The British had lost four hundred men in killed, wounded and prisoners: artillery, ammunition, and tents had been captured; and the possession of a part of the works by the Americans, would enable them to renew the attack the next day with every chance of success. During the night the British general, in silence and with order, drew back his discomfited troops to some high grounds in the rear, where next morning (October 8), they were drawn

up in order of battle. That day was spent in skirmishes between the parties. To avoid being surrounded, General Burgoyne, the next day (October 9) abandoned his new position, and with the loss of his hospital stores, and numerous sick and wounded, fell back to Saratoga. The distance was only six miles; but the rain fell in torrents, the roads were almost impassable, the bridge over the Fishkill had been broken down by the Americans, and this retrograde movement occupied the entire day.

Isaac Anderson was also present at the surrender of the British army under General Burgoyne, at Saratoga; which took place October 16, 1777, when five thousand seven hundred and fifty-two British soldiers laid down their arms and surrendered to the American forces, commanded by General Gates; which, together with the men killed and lost in the previous battles and various disasters, made the whole British loss amount to nine thousand two hundred and thirteen. A considerable portion of these were Germans which the Duke of Brunswick and the Elector of Hesse-Cassel had sold or hired to the British Government. There also fell into the hands of the Americans thirty-five brass field pieces, five thousand muskets, and a large amount of ammunition, baggage and camp equipage.

In December, 1777, during the time the British occupied Philadelphia, and while the Congress held their sessions at Yorktown, the regiment to which Mr. An-

derson belonged happened to be on a scouting expedition, when, on the tenth of the month, they fell in with a British regiment which was on a similar service, at a place then called Shorthill; a severe skirmish ensued, during which Mr. Anderson was severely wounded by a musket-ball, which passed in at one cheek and out at the opposite side, carrying away some of his teeth and part of the jawbone. The wound injured the sight of one of his eyes, and left a very deep scar on each cheek, which he carried through life. The American force was beaten and had to retreat, leaving Mr. Anderson on the field. The weather was cold, with some snow on the ground. It being supposed that Anderson was dead, he had been stripped of part of his clothing by some of the English soldiers, and left lying on the frozen earth. However, after a time he revived, and when the English came the next morning to remove and bury the dead, he was found still alive. He was taken to Philadelphia and placed in the hospital under the care of a skillful English surgeon. On account of his wound he could take no solid food; soup and other liquids were his only nourishment, but he soon began to improve. Fortunately, they had some Rhenish wine, the acidity of which was very agreeable to his taste, and no doubt, contributed considerably to heal the wound. The assistant surgeon was an Irishman, from the same county in Ireland from which Mr. Anderson had come, who paid particular attention to him. In a few months

he was almost wholly recovered. When the British evacuated Philadelphia, at three o'clock on the morning of the 18th of June, 1778, Mr. Anderson feigned himself extremely ill and was left behind in his berth in the hospital, by the connivance of his friend, the assistant surgeon. As soon as the British were entirely gone, he jumped from his berth and set out for the American camp, where he arrived the same evening, and in a few days joined his regiment.

The British after leaving Philadelphia retreated through New Jersey, followed by General Washington and his army, who overtook them at Monmouth Court-house, where a severe battle was fought on the 28th of June, 1778. Mr. Anderson often stated, that in this battle he discharged his rifle with aim thirty-two times. During the memorable contest for the occupancy of New Jersey, between the English and Continental troops, the regiment of which Mr. Anderson was a member, being a pioneer corps, was detailed on almost all occasions for very active and arduous service, and actually, as stated by Mr. Anderson, fought fourteen times in thirteen days, three of which were general battles. To those who are familiar with the history of the Revolutionary war, and the persons engaged in it, it must be well known what an important part the emigrants from Ireland performed in that war. Perhaps no nation furnishes a greater portion of brave men than Ireland.

In the year 1781 we find Isaac Anderson in the western part of Pennsylvania. It appears that in the spring of that year, General George Rogers Clark contemplated making an excursion the ensuing summer against the Indians of the north-west, in order to retaliate on them for depredations committed on the frontier settlements; and, with a view of raising men for the expedition, visited western Pennsylvania. He made a requisition on Colonel Archibald Laughery, who was county lieutenant of Westmoreland county, to raise one hundred or more volunteers to aid him in the expedition. It was General Clark's intention to have proceeded up the Great Miami river with his expedition, but subsequently changed his plan, and ordered Colonel Laughery to follow him to the falls of the Ohio. The men were raised and provided with an outfit and ammunition for the expedition, principally at the private expense of Colonel Laughery and Captain Robert Orr, an Irishman by birth, who was second in command. Isaac Anderson was a lieutenant in Captain Shannon's company.

The whole party, when assembled, numbered one hundred and seven mounted men. They rendezvoused at Carnahan's block-house, eleven miles west of Hannastown, and the next day set out for Fort Henry (Wheeling) by way of Pittsburg, where it was arranged they should join the army under General Clark. When they arrived at Wheeling, Clark had gone twelve miles

down the river, leaving some provisions and a traveling boat for them, with directions to follow him. After preparing some temporary boats for the transportation of the men and horses, which occupied several days, they embarked and proceeded down the river. Arriving at the place where he halted, they found he had continued down the river the day before, leaving Major Creacroft with a few men and a boat for the transportation of the horses, but without either provisions or ammunition, of which they had an inadequate supply. General Clark had, however, promised to wait their arrival at the mouth of the Kanawha river; but on reaching that point they found that he had been obliged, in order to prevent desertion among his men, to proceed on, leaving only a letter affixed to a pole directing them to follow him to the falls of the Ohio.

Their provisions and forage were nearly exhausted; there was no source of supply but the stores conveyed by General Clark; the river was low, they were unacquainted with the channel, and could not, therefore, hope to overtake him. Under these embarrassing circumstances, Colonel Laughery dispatched Captain Shannon with seven men, in a small boat, with the hope of overtaking Clark and the main army, and of securing supplies. Lieutenant Isaac Anderson took command of the company. Before Captain Shannon and his men had proceeded far, they were all taken prisoners by the Indians, and with them was taken a letter to General

Clark detailing the situation of Colonel Laughery's party. About the same time Laughery arrested a party of nineteen deserters from Clark's army, whom he afterward released, and it was said that they immediately joined the Indians.

The Indians had been apprised of the expedition, but had previously supposed that Clark and Laughery were proceeding together, and through fear of the cannon which it was known Clark carried, were intimidated from making an attack. Apprised now by the capture of Shannon and his men, and by the reports of the deserters, of the weakness of Laughery's party, they collected in great force below the mouth of the Great Miami river, with a determination to destroy them. The Indians placed their prisoners in a conspicuous position on the north shore of the Ohio river, nearly opposite, as it was said, to the head of what has since been called Laughery's island, which is three miles below the mouth of Laughery's creek, and promised to spare their lives on condition that they would hail their companions as they passed, and induce them to land and surrender.

Colonel Laughery and his party pursuing their voyage were, however, wearied with their slow progress, and despairing of overtaking General Clark's army, they landed, about ten o'clock on the morning of the 24th of August, at a very attractive spot in the mouth of a creek on the north shore, about ten miles below the

mouth of the Great Miami river, in what is now the south-eastern part of the State of Indiana. (This creek has since been named "Laughery's creek," in memory of the commander of the expedition.) The Indians, who were waiting opposite the island below to intercept them, were soon informed of their position by their runners. Here Colonel Laughery's party removed their horses ashore, and turned them loose to feed while some of the men cut grass sufficient to keep them alive until they could be taken to the falls, some one hundred and twenty miles distant. One of the party had killed a buffalo, and all, except a few set to cut grass and guard the horses, were engaged round the fires which they had kindled preparing a meal from it. Suddenly they were assailed by a volley of rifle balls from the adjoining woods, and the Indians immediately appeared in great force. The men, thus surprised, seized their arms and defended themselves as long as their ammunition lasted, and then attempted to escape by means of their boats. But the boats were unwieldy, the water was low, and their force too much weakened to make them available, and when they were putting out, intending to cross the river, they were intercepted by another band of Indians, who fired on them from canoes in the river. Thus, unable to escape or defend themselves, they were compelled to surrender. The whole detachment were either killed or taken prisoners. Not one escaped, either to join General Clark or return home. Colonel Laughery

and a number more were killed after they were taken prisoners. Captain Orr, who commanded a company, had his arm broken by a ball, and was taken prisoner. The wounded who were unable to travel were immediately dispatched with the tomahawk and scalped. The few who escaped with their lives (among them Isaac Anderson) were driven through the wilderness to Detroit. The fate of Colonel Laughery and his party was not known to their relatives and friends for several months afterward. In a letter from General William Irvine to General Washington, dated "Fort Pitt, December 29, 1781," an account of the disaster is communicated, and he adds: "These misfortunes throw the people of this country into the greatest consternation, and almost despair, particularly Westmoreland county, Laughery's party being all the best men of their frontier." In a letter written by Michael Huffnagle to General William Irvine, dated "Hannastown, July 17, 1782," he says: "I have this moment heard that Isaac Anderson and Richard Wallace, that were with Laughery, made their escape from Montreal, and have arrived safe in this neighborhood."

Mr. Anderson kept a daily journal from the time he set out on the expedition until his return, which is preserved in the family, and which has been submitted to my inspection by his son, Judge Fergus Anderson, of Ross, Butler county, Ohio. It is here inserted entire as a curious document of the olden times, long bygone,

It embodies an amount of information, of which it is, probably, the only authentic record, and will be found both interesting and useful on account of dates and names:

JOURNAL.

August 1st, 1781. We met at Colonel Carnahan's, in order to form a body of men to join General Clark on the expedition against the Indians.

Aug. 2d. Rendezvoused at said place.

Aug. 3d. Marched under command of Colonel Lochry to Maracle's mill, about 83 in number.

Aug. 4th. Crossed Youghagania river.

Aug. 5th. Marched to Devor's ferry.

Aug. 6th. To Racoon settlement.

Aug. 7th. Captain Mason's.

Aug. 8th. To Wheeling Fort, and found Clark was started down the river about twelve hours.

Aug. 9th. Col. Lochry sent a Quartermaster and officer of the horse after him, which overtook him at Middle Island and returned; then started with all our foot troops on seven boats, and our horses by land, to Grave creek.

Aug. 13th. Moved down to Fishing creek; we took up Lieut. Baker and 16 men, deserting from Gen. Clark, and went that day to the middle of Long Reach, where we stayed that night.

Aug. 15th. To the Three Islands, where we found Major Creacraft waiting on us with a horse-boat. He, with his guard, 6 men, started that night after General Clark.

Aug. 16th. Colonel Lochry detached Capt. Shannon with 7 men and letter after Gen. Clark, and we moved that day to the Little Connaway (Kanawha) with all our horses on board the boats.

Aug. 17th. Two men went out to hunt who never returned to us. We moved that day to Buffalo Island.

Aug. 18th. To Catfish Island.

Aug. 19th. To Bare Banks.

Aug. 20th. We met with two of Shannon's men, who told us they had put to shore to cook, below the mouth of the Siotha (*Scioto*), where Shannon sent them and a sergeant out to hunt. When they had got about half a mile in the woods they heard a number of guns fire, which they supposed to be Indians firing on the rest of the party, and they immediately took up the river to meet us; but, unfortunately, the sergeant's knife dropped on the ground, and it ran directly through his foot, and he died of the wound in a few minutes. We sailed all that night.

Aug. 21st. We moved to the Two Islands.

Aug. 22d. To the Sassafras Bottom.

Aug. 23d. Went all day and all night.

Aug. 24th. Col. Lochry ordered the boats to land on the Indian shore, about 10 miles below the mouth of the Great Meyamee (*Miami*) river, to cook provisions and cut grass for the horses, when we were fired on by a party of Indians from the bank. We took to our boats, expecting to cross the river, and was fired on by another party in a number of canoes, and soon we became a prey to them. They killed the Col. and a number more after they were prisoners. The number of our killed was about forty. They marched us that night about eight miles up the river and encamped.

Aug. 25th. We marched eight miles up the Meyamee river and encamped.

Aug. 26th. Lay in camp.

Aug. 27th. The party that took us was joined by one hundred white men, under the command of Capt. Thompson, and three hundred Indians under the command of Captain McKee.

Aug. 28th. The whole of the Indians and whites went down against the settlements of Kentucky, excepting a sergeant and eighteen men, which were left to take care of sixteen prisoners and the stores that were left there. We lay there until the fifteenth of Sept.

Sept. 15th, 1781. We started toward the Shawna towns on our way to Detroit.

Sept. 19th. Arrived at Chillecothey, where the Indians took all the prisoners from Capt. Thompson excepting six of us. We lay there until the 26th.

Sept. 26th. We marched to Laremes.

Sept. 27th. Over the carrying place to the Glaize.

Sept. 28th. To the Taway village.

Sept. 29th. Continued our march.

Sept. 30th. Marched all day through swampy ground.

Oct. 1st. Arrived at Roche de Bout and rested there eight days.

Oct. 4th. Capt. Thompson marched for Detroit, and left us with the Mohawks, where we lay until the eighth.

Oct. 8th. Started in a canoe with the Indians for Detroit, and lay at the foot of the rapids all night.

Oct. 9th. Got to Stony Point, half way to Detroit, from the mouth of Mame (Maumee) river.

Oct. 10th. Got to the spring well, four miles from Detroit.

Oct. 11th. Taken into Detroit and given up to Major Arent Schuyler DePeyster, who confined us to the citadel.

Oct. 13th. Got into good quarters and were well used, and

clothing and liberty of going where we pleased round the town until the fourth of November.

Nov. 4th. Went on board the sloop Felicity, bound for Niagara.

Nov. 5th. Lay at anchor in Put-in Bay.

Nov. 6th. Likewise.

Nov. 7th. Set sail with wind fair.

Nov. 8th. Wind ahead.

Nov. 9th. Sprung the mast by distress of weather.

Nov. 10th. Very stormy weather; lower our sails.

Nov. 11th. Put in at Presque Isle Bay.

Nov. 12th. Lay in said harbour.

Nov. 13th. Sailed to Fort Erie.

Nov. 14th. Went in batteaux to Fort Schlosser, one mile above Niagara Falls.

Nov. 15th. Went over the carrying place to Niagara Fort, and put on board the Seneca.

Nov. 16th. Set sail for Carleton Island.

Nov. 17th. Wind ahead and blew very hard.

Nov. 18th. Arrived at said place.

Nov. 19th. Put in the guard-house at said place.

Nov. 20th. Started in batteaux for Montreal.

Nov. 21st. Continued on our journey.

Nov. 22d. Lay at Oswegatchie.

Nov. 23d. Crossed the Long Saut.

Nov. 24th. Arrived at Coteau du Lac.

Nov. 25th. Crossed the Cascades to the Isle of Perrot.

Nov. 26th. Was beat by a wind upon Chateaugay Island.

Nov. 27th. Crossed Chateaugay river, and went to Caughnawaga, an Indian village, and crossed the river St. Lawrence with much difficulty, and lay at La Chine all night.

Nov. 28th. Drew provisions, and were insulted by drunken Indians; went down to Montreal, and were delivered to General Spike, who put us in close confinement.

Nov. 29th. Removed to the long house in St. Marc parish, and remained there until May 26th, 1782.

May 26th, 1782. Scaled the pickets about two o'clock in the day time and crossed the river at Longueiul church, and got into the woods immediately, and steered for Sorel river; crossed it that night, and went into a Frenchman's barn and killed two lambs, and took two horses and rode all night till daybreak; then we made a halt, skinned and barbacued the lambs.

May 27th. Started with our horses; got them about five miles, where we were obliged to turn them out of hand upon account of swampy ground, and steered an east course all day, and came to the river Missisque; crossed it on a raft; marched about two miles after dark and encamped.

May 28th. Marched about daybreak. Had gone but one mile when we heard the drums beat the reveille from a block-house on said river. We steered that day south-east, expecting to strike Heason's road, but found it not. We encamped that night on a very high mountain.

May 29th. Found a large quantity of snow on said mountain. Crossed the river Missisque and another mountain that day and encamped.

May 30th. Crossed three mountains and camped.

May 31st. Came to a level country and crossed four creeks, one very difficult to cross, that emptied into Lake Memphremagog. We were obliged to camp on bad ground that night, and our provisions were done.

June 1st. Our provisions being done, we were obliged to kill our dog and eat him; lost our compass, but Providence

favored us with clear weather that day and part of the next. We steered our old course, south-east, and encamped.

June 2d. Struck a branch of Passumpsic river and kept down it, and in the evening made a raft, expecting to go by water, but was disappointed by drift-wood. We encamped in the forks of said river all night.

June 3d. Kept our old course and struck an east branch of said river. We kept down it by reason of dark weather. We encamped that night on dead running water.

June 4th. Made two rafts and never got any service of them, by reason of rapid running water, and kept our old course that day and encamped.

June 5th. Made two more rafts, and got no service of them, by reason of falls. We continued down said river a south course. Our provisions and moccasins were done. We roasted some toads for supper that night and almost poisoned ourselves; cut one pair of our leggings to make more moccasins, where we encamped.

June 6th. Continued our march, and struck the settlement of Cohorse on said river, that evening, at one Smith's. We came down the Connecticut that night and crossed below the forks, where we stayed all night.

June 7th. Came past Ebr. Willoughby, and to Richard Salmon's, where we stayed all night, 12 miles from where we struck the settlement.

June 8th. Came to Brig. Gen. Bayley's, and rested there two days.

June 10th. Crossed the river to his son's, Ephraim Bayley's, where we got a pair of shoes, and went to James Woodward's, Esquire, where we stayed all night.

June 11th. To Capt. Ladd's, 21 miles.

June 12th. To Col. Johnston's, two miles.

June 13th. To Capt. Clements, on our way to Pennycuik, 11 miles.

June 14th. To Emerson's, Esq., 21 miles.

June 15th. To Captain Favour's, 19 miles.

June 16th. To Colonel Garishe's, 14 miles.

June 17th. To Colonel Walker's, in Pennycuik, 12 miles, where the general court sat. There we made application for money, and the next day got a little.

June 18th. Went to Capt. Todd's, 11 miles.

June 19th. To Captain Walker's, where we eat dinner; and left the Merimac river, and got on the great road for Fishkills, to head-quarters, and stayed that night at the sign of the Lion, 30 miles.

June 20th. To Mr. Holton's, 4 miles from Lancaster, in the Bay State, 25 miles.

June 21st. To Worcester, and from thence to Mr. Sargeant's, where we stayed 3 nights, and got two pair of trowsers made.

June 24th. To Benj. Cottens, 35 miles.

June 25th. To Springfield, and crossed Connecticut river and came to Mr. Eanese's, in Connecticut province, 32 miles.

June 26th. To Mr. Camp's, in Washington town, 40 miles.

June 27th. Came past Bull's works, and into York province, to Thos. Storms', Esq., where we lay all night.

June 28th. Came to Fishkill's landing, 15 miles, and crossed the North river to Newburg, to head-quarters, expecting to get a supply of money; but His Excellency was gone up the river to Albany, and we could not obtain any. From thence to New Windsor, 2 miles, where we met with a friend, but no acquaintance, who lent us money to carry us to Philadelphia, which was

a great favor. We came that night to John Brouster's, 11 miles.

June 29th. To Mr. Snyder's tavern, Jersey province, 32 miles.

June 30th. Came through Hackettstown, and came to Mr. Haslet's, 27 miles.

July 1st. Through Philipsburgh, and from thence we crossed the Delaware river at Howell's ferry, and got into Pennsylvania, to William Bennet's in Buck's county, 43 miles, and 27 from Philadelphia.

July 2d. Came to Philadelphia, 27 miles, and stayed there until the 4th.

July 4th. Started for Carlisle about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and came to the Sorrel House, 13 miles.

July 5th. To Capt. Mason's, 42 miles.

July 6th. Came through Lancaster, and from thence to Middletown, where we lay all night; 37 miles.

July 7th. Crossed Susquehanna river and came to Carlisle about 1 o'clock, 26 miles, and rested three nights.

July 10th. Started and came through Shippensburg to Capt. Thos. Campbell's, 39 miles.

July 11th. Rested at said Campbell's.

July 12th. To Mr. Welch's, about 5 miles.

July 13th. To crossing Juniata, 28 miles.

July 14th. Came through Bedford to Arthur McGaughey's, 21 miles.

July 15th. To Loud's, in the glades, 32 miles.

July 16th. To Col. Campbell's, 28 miles.

Return of the men killed and taken August 24th, 1781, upon the Ohio river, under the command of Col. Lochery:

Killed—Col. Lochery, Capt. Campbell, Ensigns Ralph, Maxwell and Cahel.

Taken prisoners—Maj. Creacraft, Adjt. Guthree, Quar. Master Wallace, Capts. Tho. Stokely, Samuel Shannon and Robert Orr; Lieuts. Isaac Anderson, Jos. Robinson, Samuel Craig, Jno. Scott and Milr Baker; Ensign Hunter.

Privates killed and taken prisoners in CAPTAIN STOKELY'S company:

Killed—Hugh Gallagher, Isaac Patton, Douglass, Pheasant, Young, Gibson, Smith, Stratton, Bailey and John Burns.

Prisoners—John Trimble, William Mars, John Seace, Michael Miller, Robert Wattson, John Allenton, Richard Fleman, James Cain, Patrick Murphy, Abraham Anderson, Michael Haire.

CAPTAIN CAMPBELL'S company:

Prisoners—William Husk, Robert Wilson, James Dunseth William Weatherington, Keany Quigley, Ezekiel Lewis.

Killed—William Allison, James McRight and Jonathan McKinley.

CAPTAIN ORR'S company:

Killed—John Forsyth, William Cain, Adam Erwin, Peter Maclin, Archibald Erskin, Jno. Black, Jno. Stewart, Jos. Crawford.

Prisoners—Adam Owry, Samuel Lefaver, Jno. Hunter, Jos. Erwin, Mans Kite, Hugh Steer and Hugh Moore.

CAPTAIN SHANNON'S company:

Killed—Ebenezer Burns, killed by accident.

Prisoners—Solomon Aikens, John Lever, Josias Fisher, George Hill, John Porter and John Smith.

LIEUT. BAKER'S company:

Killed—D'Allinger, George Butcher, John Rowe, Peter Barickman, Jonas Peters and Josias Brooks.

Prisoners—John Catt, Vol. Lawrence, Jacob Lawrence, Christr. Tait, Charles Maclin, William Rourk, Wnd. Franks, Abm. Righley and George Mason.

LIEUT. ANDERSON'S company:

Killed—Samuel Evans, Sergt. Zeans Harden, Matthew Lamb, John Milegan, John Corn.

Prisoners—Norman McLeod, Sergt. James McFerron, William Marshall, Denis McCarty, Peter Coneley and John Ferrel.

Taken prisoners in MAJ. CREACRAFT'S company: Thomas James, Thomas Adkson, John Stakehouse, William Clarke, Elihu Risely, Alexander Burns.

48 privates and 12 officers taken; 5 officers and 36 privates killed.

The prisoners taken at Laughery's defeat remained in captivity until the next year, which brought the revolutionary struggle to a close. After the preliminary articles of peace were signed, on the 30th of November, 1782, they were ransomed by the British officers in command of the northern posts, to be exchanged for British prisoners, and sent to the St. Lawrence. Isaac Anderson and a few others had, as recorded in the journal, previously made their escape from Montreal. The remainder, in the spring of 1783, sailed from Quebec to New York, and returned thence home by the way of Philadelphia, having been absent twenty-two months. More than one-half of the number who left Pennsylvania under Colonel Laughery never returned.

After Mr. Anderson's return from captivity with the

Indians he settled in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, and soon after received the commission of a captain in the Pennsylvania line. He was also appointed commissary for several forts, or block-houses, on the western frontier of the State. This was both a laborious and hazardous business, which he pursued for three years, issuing rations at seven different stations, situated from four to ten miles apart, which required daily rides through forests infested with hostile savages. These rides, for safety, were frequently made in the night, and alone.

In November, 1788, Isaac Anderson was married, in Westmoreland county, to Euphemia Moorehead, eldest daughter of Fergus Moorehead, who had, also, been a soldier of the revolution. About the year 1771 or 1772, Fergus Moorehead and James Kelly moved to the western part of Pennsylvania, and commenced improvements near where the town of Indiana now stands. The country around might well be termed a howling wilderness, for it was full of wolves. As soon as these adventurers had erected their cabins, they worked together during the day, and at night each betook himself to his own cabin. One morning Mr. Moorehead paid a visit to his neighbor Kelly, and was surprised to find near his cabin traces of blood and tufts of human hair. Kelly was not to be found. Moorehead believed him to have been killed by the wolves, and was cautiously looking out for his remains, when he discovered him

sitting by a spring washing the blood from his hair. He had lain down in his cabin at night and fallen asleep. A wolf reached through a crack between the logs and seized him by the head. This was repeated twice or thrice before he was sufficiently awakened to change his position. The smallness of the crack and the size of his head prevented the wolf from grasping it so far as to have a secure hold, and that saved his life. Some time after this the two adventurers went to Franklin county for their families, and on their return they were joined by others.

The privations of such a situation, and the difficulty of procuring breadstuff and other necessaries of life, were very great, as there was no possibility of a supply short of Conecocheague, east of the mountains. But, great as these difficulties were, they had to encounter others of a still more serious nature. The savage and hostile Indians gave them much trouble. Several of the inhabitants were killed and scalped; others were forced to leave their homes and seek a place of safety on the eastern side of the mountains. Moorehead and Kelly had many narrow escapes from the Indians; but they finally caught Moorehead, together with a settler by the name of Simpson. Simpson was killed and Moorehead taken prisoner, and carried through the woods to Quebec, where he was confined eleven months. He was afterward exchanged and sent to New York, and thence made his way to his family, whom he joined

after twelve months' separation. After his capture his wife and three children had fled to a place of safety in a fort in Westmoreland county, and thence to Franklin county.

Mr. Fergus Moorehead was the father of Joseph Moorehead, who received an ensign's commission and marched to the west with the army under General St. Clair. He was at the disastrous battle of the 4th of November, 1791, at Fort Recovery, where General St. Clair and his army were defeated by the Indians. Here he received a wound which rendered him an invalid for life.

When the army was recruiting, in the spring of the year 1791, to march against the north-western Indians, under the command of General St. Clair, Isaac Anderson was offered the command of a company of infantry in that expedition; but he declined the appointment, and recommended his brother-in-law, Joseph Moorehead, who received the commission of an ensign. The reason why Mr. Anderson declined accepting the commission of captain tendered to him was, that he had undertaken, and was engaged at the time, in an extensive contract for surveying lands for the "Holland Land Company," in western Pennsylvania. This company had purchased an immense tract of land west of the Genesee river, in New York, and also owned a vast body of land in western Pennsylvania.

In the winter of the year 1795-6, Isaac Anderson,

with his family, emigrated to the west, and settled in Cincinnati, then a small village of log cabins, including about fifty rough, unfinished frame houses, with stone chimneys. Fort Washington stood in the upper part of the town, east of where Broadway now is. There were no brick houses there then. Indeed, a brick had not been seen in the place, where now so many elegant edifices present themselves to the eye. He purchased a lot in the town from Joseph Moorehead, who had previously bought it when he was with St. Clair's army. The lot was situated on the north side of Front street, between Main and Walnut streets, one lot east of the corner of Front and Walnut. There was a log cabin on it at the time, in which he domiciled his family. By persevering industry Mr. Anderson afterward built a comfortable house on the premises, in which he opened a store and kept a tavern, which some of the old citizens may remember, as the sign of the *Green Tree.* Being of an enterprising turn, he also, while living in Cincinnati, engaged in various other business, such as manufacturing brick, and employing teams to transport emigrants, goods and provisions into the interior of the country.

In the year 1801 the United States lands west of the Great Miami river were first offered for sale.* Mr. Anderson remembered the beautiful, rich bottoms of

* The first sale of public lands was held at Cincinnati on the first Monday of April, 1801. Laws of the United States, vol. III, page 386.

the Miami river, which he had traversed when a captive with the Indians, on their way to Detroit, and resolved to possess himself of a portion of that fertile soil. Accordingly he purchased a section of land on the west bank of the Great Miami river, above the mouth of Indian creek, in Butler county, on which he commenced a clearing; and in the year 1812 removed from Cincinnati with his family, and settled on his farm, where he resided until the time of his death.

Isaac Anderson died at his residence in Butler county on the 18th of December, 1839, aged eighty-one years and nine months. His wife, Euphemia, with whom he had lived in great harmony for upward of half a century, survived him. She died at the old homestead on Indian creek August 26th, 1851, aged eighty years and eleven months, and was buried beside her husband in the burying-ground at Venice, Butler county, Ohio.

The only trophy of the revolution which Mr. Anderson preserved was a law book entitled "Lovelass on Wills," and on a fly-leaf of which is written, in Mr. Anderson's own well known handwriting, "Isaac Anderson got this book at Burgoyne's defeat, 1777." Mr. Anderson frequently related the circumstance of his picking up the book on the battle-ground near Saratoga after the engagement, and facetiously observed that the British might need such a manual, as some of them had but short notice to draw their wills, and it was necessary they should be in due form.

Isaac Anderson and Euphemia, his wife, had born to them eleven children, six sons and five daughters. The four eldest were born in Pennsylvania, the last seven in Ohio; six in Cincinnati, and one at the old farm in Butler county. They, all but one, who died in infancy, grew up to maturity and became the heads of families. The descendants of the old patriot are now numerous, and nearly all reside in Ohio. The names of the children are Robert, Jane, Susan, Margaret, Fergus, Isaac, Euphemia (died in infancy), Joseph, William, James and Euphemia (the second).

Robert Anderson, the oldest son, was born in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, on the 14th of September, 1789. He married Rachel Bunnel on the 16th of June, 1811, and settled on a farm adjoining his father's. The war with Great Britain having been declared on the 18th of June, 1812, the ensuing spring Robert Anderson received a commission as lieutenant in the American army,* and after attending for some time to the recruiting service, he joined the army under the command of General Harrison at Sandusky. The small American fleet, under the command of Commodore Perry, was then anchored off the mouth of Sandusky river. There were at this time not more than half sailors enough to man the fleet. However, a number of Pennsylvania militia volunteered their services, and General Harrison furnished about seventy

* He was in the pack-horse and commissary service from the beginning of the war.

volunteers, principally Kentuckians, to serve as marines on board the fleet. Lieutenant Anderson volunteered his services, and acted as an officer of marines during the action.

Lieutenant Anderson received a silver medal, by order of congress, as a testimonial of his bravery and good conduct on the occasion. After Perry's victory on the lake, Lieutenant Anderson was ordered to join the northern army, under the command of General Brown, in which he served until the conclusion of the war. In the year 1816, after peace had been proclaimed, Mr. Anderson retired from the army and returned to his farm in Butler county. His wife having died, he married for his second wife, Clarissa Miller, on the 16th of September, 1816. In the early part of the year 1817, he was elected a justice of the peace for Ross township, Butler county, in which office he served three years. And in the fall of the same year he was elected a member of the general assembly from the county of Butler, and was successively elected the four following years, and served five sessions in the legislature of the State, with honor to himself and to the entire satisfaction of his constituents. He declined being a candidate for re-election the succeeding year (1822). In the year 1823, he was elected by the legislature an associate judge of the court of common pleas for Butler county, in which capacity he served until September, 1827. In 1827, the board of canal commis-

sioners appointed him an engineer of the Miami canal, then in the course of construction, to the duties of which appointment he gave his faithful attention during the remainder of his life. In March, 1828, when engaged in locating and laying out the Hamilton basin, he was attacked with bilious fever, and was compelled to discontinue his labors. He went to his home, from which he never returned. He died on the 19th of June, 1828, leaving his widow and two sons surviving him. His widow is since deceased.

Jane, the eldest daughter of Isaac Anderson, was born in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, on the 6th of August, 1791, and on the 30th of April, 1812, intermarried with George Dick, a son of an old pioneer of the country, who owned large possessions on Indian creek. He was the brother of her who afterward became the wife of Fergus Anderson. George Dick owned a flouring mill on the Great Miami river, below the mouth of Indian creek, a short distance above where the town of Venice now is. A post office was established at that place called "Dick's mill post office," of which he was appointed postmaster. He died on the 2d of September, 1828, leaving his widow and seven children, who all grew up to maturity and are respectably settled in the neighborhood. After the death of Mr. Dick, the post office department appointed his widow to discharge the duties, to which she attended with promptness and fidelity until July, in the year

1834, when the office was removed to the town of Venice, then recently laid out, and the name changed to Ross post office. The widow of George Dick again intermarried on the 17th of April, 1834, with Judge Nehemiah Wade, a gentleman residing in the vicinity. He was the son of David E. Wade, one of the first settlers of Cincinnati, who died several years ago, possessed of vast wealth, in addition to about two thousand acres of land which he held at the mouth of Indian creek. Nehemiah Wade was elected a justice of the peace for Ross township in 1818, in which office he served six years. In 1841 he was elected by the legislature, an associate judge of the court of common pleas for Butler county, and again re-elected at the session of 1847–48, and held the office until the organization of the courts under the new constitution, a term of eleven years. In addition to these offices, Mr. Wade has held various other important trusts and posts of usefulness to the citizens of his neighborhood. He and his wife yet live in the vicinity of Venice, Butler county.

Margaret Anderson, the third daughter, was born in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania, on the 17th of January, 1795, and on the 29th of July, 1817, was married to William Moore, a carpenter and joiner by trade, and a perfect master of his profession. They settled in Hamilton, where he pursued his trade for several years, and where many houses built by him remain as monuments of his industry and skill in his

profession. A few years before the close of his life, he was associated with William Anderson as a partner in a heavy contract for building locks at Lockport on the Miami extension canal. Mr. Moore died at Hamilton on the 2d of January, 1835. He was an upright and very worthy man. His widow yet lives near Venice in Butler county.

Fergus Anderson, the second oldest son, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 14th of June, 1797, and on the 28th of June, 1821, was married to Miss Mary Dick, a daughter of Samuel Dick, an old associate pioneer of Isaac Anderson; they had been near neighbors from the time of their first settling in Cincinnati, and had purchased and settled on land on Indian creek in the vicinity of each other, and were still neighbors. Fergus Anderson was brought up to the business of farming; and after he was married, settled on a farm on Indian creek, near the residence of his father. In the fall of the year 1828, he was elected a member of the general assembly from Butler county. He was also elected the succeeding year and served two years in the lower house, after which in 1830, he was elected to the senate and served two years. In 1835, he was elected a justice of the peace for Ross township, in which office he served until he was elected by the legislature an associate judge of the court of common pleas for Butler county, in which office he served seven years. Since his retirement from the bench and public life he has lived

on his farm, the first on which he settled, where he and his lady and a number of children are yet living in very comfortable circumstances.

Susan Anderson, the second daughter, was born in Westmoreland county, State of Pennsylvania, on the 10th of June, 1793, and on the 18th of August, 1814, was married to James Boal, a hatter by trade, who opened a shop and carried on his business in Hamilton.

Between ten and eleven o'clock, A. M., on the 5th of April, 1826, a severe thunderstorm occurred. Mrs. Boal and the family were sitting in their room near the fire-place, when the lightning struck the chimney of the building, and the electric fluid descended into the room and instantly killed Mrs. Boal, two of her children, and a Mr. Perrine, who was also in the room. Thus were four persons instantly deprived of life. The children killed were respectively three and five years of age. The house in which the catastrophe occurred was a brick building, the second brick house that had been erected in Hamilton. The distressing circumstance caused a deep gloom to pervade the town, which was long remembered. There were four other persons in the room at the time, three others of Mrs. Boal's children and a daughter of William McCarron, who providentially escaped with but slight injury. James Boal died near Reading, Hamilton county, Ohio, of cholera, in the year 1833.

Isaac Anderson, junior, was born in Cincinnati, Ohio,

on the 29th of August, 1799, and was married to Margaret Morris on the 23d of August, 1825. He lives on a farm in the west part of Ross township, Butler county, and has served several years in the office of justice of the peace.

A daughter, Euphemia Anderson, was born in Cincinnati, on the 18th of April, 1802, and died 30th June, 1803.

Joseph Anderson was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 10th of July, 1804, and was married to Jane Gilchrist on the 9th of December, 1829. He was educated for the profession of a merchant, which business he yet pursues in the town of Lebanon, Warren county, Ohio, where he resides.

William Anderson was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 26th of September, 1808, and on the 26th of March, 1833, was married to Miss Hannah Millikin, a daughter of Samuel Millikin, who was a brother of Dr. Daniel Millikin, one of the first physicians of Hamilton. She died soon afterward, he married, for his second wife, Miss Mary Jackson, on the 30th of October, 1838. William Anderson became a partner in a very heavy contract on the northern part of the Miami canal, then in the course of construction; and personally superintended the building of the range of eight locks, between the Miami feeder and Lockport, and the aqueduct across Loramie's creek, in Shelby county. After completing this contract to the entire satisfaction of the commis-

sioners of the board of public works, he located himself in Rossville, Butler county, and opened a store of dry goods, to which business he attended till the time of his death, which took place on the 5th of August, 1845. He was an energetic, persevering man, well qualified to perform the business which he engaged in. He was much beloved and esteemed by all who knew him.

James Anderson, the youngest son, was born in Cincinnati, on the 12th of December, 1810, and on the 14th of October, 1841, was married to Hannah Margaret Taylor. He inherited the old homestead and farm on Indian creek, Butler county, where he is still living.

The youngest child was a daughter, named Euphemia Anderson (the second). She was born in Ross township, Butler county, December 18, 1813, and was married to J. Parks Gilchrist, on the 12th of April, 1837.

V.

Samuel Dick.

SAMUEL DICK was born in the county of Antrim, Ireland, on the 21st of April, 1764. His parents, though not wealthy, were in comfortable circumstances, and occupied a respectable position in the middle ranks of life. His parents died while he was quite young, leaving him in a great measure to the guardianship of a few relatives and friends. While quite a youth he determined to leave the land of his birth, to seek his fortune on the other side of the Atlantic, in the far off wilds of North America. Accordingly, in the spring of the year 1783, being then just arrived at the age of nineteen, he embarked on board a ship at Belfast and sailed for America. They had a fine passage, and in due time landed at Philadelphia, whence he wended his way to Baltimore, where he met with two of his elder brothers, who had previously come to America. They were merchandising, and were about establishing themselves in business in Gettysburg, a town in the south part of Pennsylvania, and proposed to Samuel to take him into partnership with them; and although he was poor, and his brothers rich,

he declined their offer, determined to adhere to the resolution which he had first formed when he set out from Ireland, to be the builder of his own fortune. However, he went with his brothers to Gettysburg, with the intention of going to school, during the ensuing winter, as the education which he had been enabled to obtain in Ireland, was rather limited. For that purpose he provided himself with books and stationery, and made an agreement with a farmer that he would assist his sons with their work, on mornings and evenings and on Saturdays, in consideration for his boarding. The first Saturday after the school commenced, Mr. Dick with the farmer and his sons, after closing up some morning labor, went a few miles distant to a vendue, where they met with a gentleman who wished to engage a person acquainted with the art of distilling, for the purpose of distilling brandy from apples. Mr. Dick being somewhat acquainted with the distilling business, and the gentleman promising his assistance, and the farmer with whom Mr. Dick was engaged, consenting, the school and the idea of prosecuting his education, were abandoned. He engaged with the gentleman. The brandy was distilled, for which he was handsomely remunerated, by which his purse was so well replenished that he was soon enabled to purchase a horse, saddle, and bridle. Mr. Dick spent the winter in the neighborhood of Gettysburg, in this employment. The tide of emigration was then setting toward the country west of

the Alleghany mountains, and Mr. Dick determined to seek his fortune still further in the "backwoods," as the western part of Pennsylvania was then called. The ensuing spring he crossed the mountains, where he met with a very worthy man by the name of Penticost, with whom he made an engagement in the distilling business. Soon after making this location with Mr. Penticost, he formed an acquaincance with another family by the name of Gillespie, in the neighborhood. He was employed by the old gentleman, George Gillespie, to teach one of his sons the art of distilling. This necessarily brought him much about the house and in frequent intercourse with the family, which resulted in an intimate and lasting friendship. During all this time, unknown to any one but himself, Mr. Dick was admiring the fine form, pleasant countenance, and industrious, active habits of the old gentleman's daughter Martha. It so happened, on a certain occasion, her very uniform good temper became a little ruffled, by what she considered rather harsh treatment from her father. She said the first respectable man that offered, she would accept and marry. Mr. Dick, who happened to be in hearing, replied, laughingly, as though in jest, "Here is your man." He pursued his business, as usual, and at the same time pressed his suit with Martha, and finally what was said as a joke, was ratified in earnest. Samuel Dick and Miss Martha Allen Gillespie were married in Washington county, Pennsylvania, in the winter of

1785–6, and lived together in great harmony, prospering in all things necessary for their mutual comfort for nearly half a century. Mrs. Dick died at the old homestead, on Indian creek, in the year 1833. They lived in Washington county, Pennsylvania, a few years, when he concluded to push his fortune still further to the west, and in the year 1790, set out with his wife and two little children, and descended the Ohio river to Cincinnati. Cincinnati was then a small village composed of a few log cabins, and containing not more than two hundred inhabitants, exclusive of the garrison of Fort Washington. He arrived in Cincinnati a short time before General Harmar marched on his campaign against the Indians, on the 30th day of September, 1790. He was also a resident of Cincinnati during the time, and saw the armies of Generals St. Clair and Wayne march from there on their expeditions against the Indians. Early in the spring of 1790, John Dunlap and a few associates laid out a station on the east bank of the Great Miami river eight miles below where the town of Hamilton now is, and erected a work of defense, called Dunlap's Station, since known as Colerain. In January, 1791, it was attacked by the Indians and besieged for a day and night and part of the second day. Mr. Dick was one of a party that marched from Cincinnati for their relief; but, fortunately for them, perhaps, the Indians had abandoned the siege a few hours before they arrived at the brow of the hill overlooking the

station. Mr. Dick purchased a lot in Cincinnati on the north-east corner of Front and Walnut streets, on which he erected a house where he resided during the time he lived in Cincinnati. He also possessed himself of several other lots and pieces of property, which then could be purchased at a small price. During his residence there he had a grocery establishment, and occasionally was engaged in forwarding provisions and supplies for the troops at Fort Hamilton, and other forts in the interior. He afterward kept a tavern in the house where he resided. Mr. Dick, at an early period, became the purchaser of a section of land containing six hundred and forty acres, lying on the head waters of the creek now called Dick's creek, Warren county, adjoining the Butler county line. It was within Judge Symmes' purchase; but Symmes failing to make payment for the whole of his purchase, it fell north of the tract of land for which he received a patent. However, the congress of the United States passed a law giving the right of pre-emption to those who had made contracts with Judge Symmes previous to a certain date. Mr. Dick availed himself of the privileges of the law; but had to pay the government two dollars per acre for the land. It is one of the richest sections of land on the Miami valley: the old Mad-river trace, from Fort Washington to Mad river, passes through it. He had an improvement made upon the land among the first in the settlement, although he did not go there to reside

for some time. The United States public lands west of the Great Miami river, were first brought into market in the year 1801. The first public sale was held at Cincinnati on the first Monday of April of that year, at which sale Samuel Dick purchased a section containing six hundred and forty acres of land in the rich bottom of Indian creek, in what is now Butler county, and forthwith commenced improving and opening a farm upon it. In the year 1802, he, with his family, removed from Cincinnati to his land on Indian creek, where he raised all his family in great respectability, and here he spent the remainder of his days, excepting a very few weeks.

Mr. Dick was one of the grand jurors in July, 1803, of the first session of the court of common pleas of Butler county. At the general election in October, 1803, he was elected a member of the house of representatives of the State of Ohio that met at Chillicothe on the first Monday of December, in that year. He served in the legislature during that session; but ever afterward refused to permit his name to be used as a candidate for any public office.

Samuel Dick died at the house of his son-in-law, Judge Fergus Anderson, in Ross township, Butler county, on the 4th of August, 1846, aged eighty-two years, and was buried beside his wife in the burying-ground at Bethel church. He sustained a high moral character through life. He was prompt in meeting all

his engagements, so that no one could charge him with want of punctuality. Having ample means, he was liberal in his contributions, for the purpose of forwarding improvements and useful public enterprises in his neighborhood. He was remarkably fortunate in all his financial transactions, and by his early enterprise, never-tiring industry, perseverance, and economy (without parsimony), he was enabled to rise from a small beginning to be a man of wealth. He was enabled, after settling all his children comfortably in the world, previous to his death, to leave a large unincumbered estate as the fruits of his labors, which his descendants are now enjoying. During a great portion of his life, Mr. Dick was a member and a regular attendant on the worship of the Presbyterian church, and in his will he bequeathed a legacy for the benefit of the Presbyterian church at Venice, to which congregation he belonged.

Samuel Dick and his wife Martha had born to them four sons and five daughters, who arrived at maturity, and were all settled comfortably in life.

George Dick, the oldest son, was married in Cincinnati in the year 1811, to Miss Jane Anderson, a daughter of Isaac Anderson, an old pioneer of the country, who had lived near to Samuel Dick, in Cincinnati, and afterward removed to Indian creek, in his neighborhood. George Dick settled on the bank of the Great Miami river in Butler county, a short distance above where the town of Venice now is. He had mills on

the river and a post-office, called Dick's Mill Post Office, was established at the place, of which he was appointed postmaster. George Dick died on the 2d of September, 1828, leaving a widow and seven children, who all arrived at maturity, and are respectably settled in life.

David Dick, the second son, married Miss Judith Bigham, the youngest daughter of William Bigham, a respectable and wealthy gentleman, whose large landed estate was bounded by the "out-lots," on the north and east of the town of Hamilton. David Dick now is, and for a number of years past has been, a citizen of the town of Venice, Butler county, in very easy circumstances, a worthy member of the Presbyterian church, at peace with all his neighbors, and highly respected by all his numerous acquaintances.

Samuel Dick, the third son, named after his father, is married. He owns and lives on the north half of the section of land originally purchased by his father on Indian creek. He has raised a large and respectable family of children, who are all living.

James Dick, the youngest son, inherited the old homestead and farm, being the south half of the section of land on Indian creek, first purchased by his father. Here he resides with his wife and a small family of children, in comfortable and respectable circumstances.

The eldest daughter was named Elizabeth Dick.

She married Joseph Wilson, who was a merchant in Rossville, and postmaster at that place for several years. She died several years ago. Her husband is also since deceased. They left two daughters. One of them married Joseph Blair, a son of Thomas Blair, formerly of Hamilton, Ohio. Joseph Blair died some years since. The other daughter married John M. Cochran, and now lives near Glendale, Hamilton county, Ohio. Jane Dick, the second oldest daughter, married John Wilson, a brother of Joseph Wilson. He was a merchant, and for a time pursued his business in Dayton, and at other places. He afterward went to Switzerland county, Indiana, where he built mills, which he operated for some time. He laid out the town of Numa, Park county, Indiana, of which he was the proprietor. He died at that place in October, 1853, leaving his wife Jane a widow with eight children, all of whom are married excepting the youngest daughter. She is since married to a Mr. Hedges.

Mary Dick, the third daughter, on the 28th of June, 1821, intermarried with Fergus Anderson, a son of Isaac Anderson, an old pioneer of the country, who lived in the neighborhood, and who had been an associate of her father, Samuel Dick, from early times. Fergus Anderson has represented the county of Butler in the house of representatives and in the senate of the State of Ohio for several years. He was for some time a justice of the peace of Ross township, and served a term of

seven years as associate judge of the court of common pleas of Butler county. He and his wife are now living on a fine farm near Indian creek, in Ross township, Butler county, in the enjoyment of a happy family, and in independent circumstances.

Martha Dick, the fourth daughter, married James Bigham, a son of William Bigham, and brother to Judith who married David Dick. They live on a farm in Hanover township, Butler county, on the turnpike road leading from Hamilton to Millville, and are in affluent circumstances.

Susan Dick, the youngest daughter, who is now deceased, became the wife of Thomas J. Shields, of Morgan township, Butler county, a worthy son of the late Hon. James Shields, who for many years was one of the people's representatives in the general assembly of the State of Ohio. He also served two sessions in the congress of the United States previous to his death.

VI.

Joseph Hough.

JOSEPH HOUGH was long a resident and prominent merchant of the town of Hamilton, acted a conspicuous part in the early history of the place, and was well and favorably known throughout the Miami valley.

He was born on a farm near Brownsville, Fayette county, Pennsylvania, on the 26th day of February, 1783.* In 1788 the family removed to Washington county, where they continued to reside till 1798, when his father died. His mother survived her husband about eighteen months. His father had been in easy circumstances; but with the hope of bettering his fortune, he had, two years before his death, engaged in the mercantile business, in which he had had no experience, and the result was that he sustained considerable losses, so that on the settlement of the estate there was but little left for the family. At the time of the death of his father, the family at home consisted of his mother,

* He was of Quaker parentage, his ancestors being a well-to-do English family of "Friends," two sons of which came out with Penn's colony, and settled originally in Buck's county, Pennsylvania.—J. M.

three sisters quite young, and himself. Benjamin, an older brother, had settled in the upper part of Ohio. He was Auditor of the State from 1808 to 1815. In connection with Mr. Bourne, he compiled and published the first sectional map of the State, which was so correct that it has been the basis of all maps since published. John, another brother, was a farmer, and lived in the northern part of Hamilton county, Ohio. Thomas, another brother, will be mentioned hereafter.

After the death of his father, Joseph resolved that he would not draw his support from the scanty resources of his widowed mother and young sisters. He apprenticed himself to his brother-in-law, Israel Gregg,* of Brownsville, to learn the trade of silversmith, clock and watch-maker. He engaged to serve till he was twenty-one.

* Israel Gregg afterward engaged in steamboating. In 1814 he was in command of the steamboat *Enterprise*, built at Brownsville, by Daniel French, on his patent, and owned by a company at that place. This was the fourth steamboat built on the Western waters. She made two trips to Louisville in the summer of 1814. In the winter of 1814-15 she descended to New Orleans, and in the spring of 1815 returned to Pittsburg, being the first steamboat that ascended the Mississippi and Ohio rivers to that place. Captain Gregg continued in this business for several years. He subsequently came to Hamilton, where he resided the remainder of his life. He was elected sheriff of Butler county in 1835, and served four years. He held several other offices of trust and responsibility. He died at Hamilton on the 20th day of June, 1847, aged seventy-three years.

In a letter to the compiler of this sketch, dated October 10th, 1852, Mr. Hough says:

"When I had served my allotted time, I found myself twenty-one years old, a free man, and out of debt. Notwithstanding I was without a dollar, I did not despair for a moment. I felt as independent as I have at any period since. I asked neither advice nor aid from any one. Knowing well that I had no time to idle, before the expiration of my apprenticeship, I had engaged to work at my trade with another clock and watchmaker at Brownsville. On the first morning after my time was out I commenced journey-work, and continued to work at my trade for about two years. During that whole time I lost (Sundays excepted) only two days. In these two years I earned and saved, over and above my expenses, about one thousand dollars, and was debtor to no man."

Previously to this, his brother Thomas had been selling goods on commission, and now having closed up that business, he proposed to Joseph that they should unite their capital, purchase a general stock of merchandise, and take it out West. The attractions of the Miami country began at this time to be known in the Eastern States, and Western Pennsylvania contributed many of her enterprising young men to the growth and prosperity of the then *Far West*. They determined to make their venture at Lebanon, in Warren county, Ohio. Loading their boat at Brownsville, with goods previously purchased at Philadelphia, on the 1st of June, 1806, they proceeded down the Monongahela

and Ohio, which were both very low. As neither of them had any knowledge of these rivers, they had a very tedious voyage, almost daily grounding on bars, from which they encountered both difficulty and delay in extricating their boat. They reached Cincinnati, however, in about twenty-five days. Here they hired wagons to take their goods to Lebanon, which they loaded and started. After a little delay they followed them on foot, as they could not procure horses for the trip. They expected to overtake the wagons about where Reading now stands, but night overtaking them, they missed their way, and some time after dark found themselves at Jacob White's mill, on Mill creek, about nine miles from Cincinnati. They were hospitably received and entertained by Mr. White, who, on learning their views and purposes, told them that they could not procure a house in Lebanon to open their goods in, and advised them to go to Hamilton, as John Wingate had just given up business, and they could, no doubt, obtain his house. They determined to follow his advice, so they started early next morning to overtake the wagons, which they did just in time to turn them toward Hamilton by the old Deerfield road. There was at that time no road between Lebanon and Hamilton.

They reached Hamilton on the 1st day of July, 1806, rented the log building lately occupied by Mr. Wingate, near the corner of Front and Basin streets, where the

Irish Catholic church now stands, and commenced business. There was but one other store at that time in Hamilton, which was kept by John Sutherland, on the east side of Front, between Stable and Dayton streets.

They met with good success in their business, but early in September, Thomas was attacked with bilious fever, which prevailed extensively along the valley of the Great Miami, and particularly about Hamilton. He died on the 17th of that month, and four days after his death Joseph was taken with the same disease, and for some days his life was despaired of; but after a lingering illness of five weeks he recovered, so that he was able to transact business. In the settlement of the business of the firm, he gave to his younger sisters his share of his brother's estate.

He persevered in his business, and the following spring entered into partnership with Thomas Blair, Robert Clark and Neil Gillespie, all of Brownsville, under the firm name of Hough, Blair & Co. They purchased a new stock of goods, which Mr. Hough opened out and sold in the same building in Hamilton which he had previously occupied. Soon afterward, however, he bought lot No. 84, on the opposite side of the street, on which he erected a convenient frame house, into which he removed his stock. This partnership continued till 1811.

In reference to the mode of conducting their busi-

ness, and the difficulties they had to encounter, he writes (in 1852):

"The difficulties connected with the mercantile business of that early period can not be realized by the merchants of this day. We had to travel on horseback from Hamilton to Philadelphia, a distance of six hundred miles, to purchase our goods. We were exposed to all kinds of weather, and were compelled to pass over the worst possible roads. When our goods were purchased, we had to engage wagons to haul them to Pittsburg, a distance, by the then roads, of three hundred miles. Their transportation over the mountains occupied from twenty to twenty-five days, and cost from six to ten dollars per hundred. Our goods being landed at Pittsburg, we usually bought flat-boats, or keel-boats, and hired hands to take our goods to Cincinnati, and we were able to have them hauled to Hamilton at from fifty to seventy-five cents per hundred. We were generally engaged three months in going east, in purchasing our stock of goods and getting them safely delivered at Hamilton. These three months were months of toil and privation, and of expense of every kind.

"In illustration of the truth of the above remark, I may state that, in one of my trips from Pittsburg to Cincinnati, I was thirty-nine days on a keel-boat, with six men besides myself to man the boat. The river was then as low as has ever been known on many of the ripples in the deepest channel, if channel it could be called where there was scarcely a foot of water. My boat drew one foot and a half after taking out all such articles as we could carry over the ripple in a large canoe, which was the only kind of lighter we could procure. Consequently, we had to scrape out channels at the low ripples of sufficient width

and depth to float our boat. We usually found out the deepest water on the ripple, and all hands would engage in making the channel. When we passed such a ripple, we reloaded our goods and proceeded to the next, where the same labor had to be performed, and the same exposure endured. The extent of the labor which had to be performed in order to pass our boat, can be best understood when I state that we were frequently detained three days at some of the worst ripples.

"At that early day the road from Philadelphia to Pittsburg was exceedingly bad. It was only graded and turnpiked to Lancaster. The residue of the road in many places was very steep and exceedingly rough. From thirty to thirty-five hundred pounds was considered a good load for a good five-horse team. There was only a weekly line of stages from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, and the time occupied in going from one place to the other was six days.

"After the receipt of our goods at Hamilton, our difficulties were by no means all overcome. In order to sell them, we were compelled not only to do the ordinary duties of merchants, and to incur its ordinary responsibilities and risks, but had to become the produce merchants of the country. We were compelled to take the farmers' produce and send or take it to New Orleans, the only market we could reach. It was necessary for the merchant to buy pork and to pack it, to buy wheat, have barrels made, and contract for the manufacture of wheat into flour, and then to build flat-bottomed boats, and with great expense and risk of property commit the whole to the dangers of the navigation of the Miami, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers. The difficulties of the trip were not overcome when we had safely arrived at New Orleans. In returning home we had either to travel eleven hundred miles by land, five hundred of

which was through the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee nations of Indians, or else go by sea either to Philadelphia or Baltimore, and thence home by land. I have descended the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans, before steamboat navigation could be relied on to bring one to Louisville, fourteen times. Thirteen trips were made on flat-boats, and one on a barge. I traveled home by land eight times, and we were usually about thirty days in making the trip. The first two trips I made by land; there were neither ferries nor bridges over any water course from the Bayou Pierre, at Port Gibson, in the Mississippi territory, to George Colbert's ferry over the Tennessee river. When we came in our route to a water course which would swim our horses, we would throw our saddle-bags and provisions over our shoulders and swim our horses over. We were compelled to camp without tents, regardless of rain or any other unfavorable weather, and to pack provisions sufficient to last us through the Indian nations. Notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers of these trips, our spirits never flagged. The excitement incident to the trips sustained us, and we were always ready to enjoy a hearty laugh whenever the occasion provoked it.

"The first time I descended the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, I left Cincinnati in December, 1808, with five flat-boats, all loaded with produce. At that time there were but few settlers on the Ohio river below the present city of Louisville. The cabins were few and far between, and there were only two small villages between Louisville and the mouth of the Ohio. One was Henderson, known then by the name of Red Banks; the other was Shawneetown. The latter was a village of a few cabins, and was used as a landing place for the salt works on the Saline river, back of the village. The banks of the Missis-

sippi, from the mouth of the Ohio to Natchez, were still more sparsely settled. New Madrid, a very small village, was the first settlement below the mouth of the Ohio. There were a few cabins at Little Prairie, a cabin opposite to where Memphis now is, and on the lower end of the bluff on which that city is built there was a stockade fort called Fort Pickering, garrisoned by a company of rangers. Cabins were to be seen at the mouth of White river, at Point Chico, and at Walnut Hills, two miles above where the city of Vicksburg now is. From this place to Natchez there were cabins at distances from ten to twenty miles apart. The whole country bordering on the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Ohio to Natchez, might be regarded as an almost unbroken wilderness. The Indians seldom visited the banks, except at a few points where the river approached the high lands.

"The bands of robbers who had infested the lower part of the Ohio and the Mississippi rivers had not been entirely dispersed, and were yet much dreaded by the merchant navigators of those rivers, so that the men on the boats were well armed, and during the night, when lying at the shore in the wilderness country, a sentinel was kept on deck to prevent surprise."

Mr. Hough descended these rivers shortly after the earthquake which so violently convulsed a great portion of the Mississippi valley, in the winter of 1811-'12. Many boatmen who had lost, or in their fright abandoned, their boats, were returning home in despair, giving frightful accounts of the dangers they had encountered. Mr. Hough, however, persevered in his trip. On entering the Mississippi and approaching

New Madrid, the effects of the earthquake became apparent. On the west side of the river, for a long distance, the cotton-wood and willows that lined the shore were bent or prostrated up stream, showing that the current had rushed violently in that direction contrary to its natural course. The town of New Madrid suffered severely. At Little Prairie, about thirty miles below New Madrid, where had been a small settlement, a large portion of the bank had sunk into the river, including the burying-ground. Not a house was left standing, and the inhabitants had all fled. The surface of the ground was fractured in many places, leaving deep and wide chasms. In other places circular holes, or depressions, resembling sink holes, remained, from which had issued water and sand, the sand forming an elevation round the margin of the holes. Where these had occurred under large trees, they were often riven and split up for ten or twenty feet, and so remained standing. Other trees in the forest were shivered and broken off, as by the effects of a great tornado. Large masses of the banks, sometimes many acres in extent, had sunk so as to leave only the tops of the high trees above the surface of the water. Occasionally shocks were still felt, preceded by a rumbling sound like distant thunder, agitating and convulsing the shores and waters of the river, and jarring the boats as though they had grounded on the bottom. An island below Little Prairie had totally disappeared. In some places the

bottom of the river had been elevated, and numerous boats were wrecked on the snags and old trees brought near the surface. So numerous were they in some places that they presented the appearance of an overflowed field covered with old deadened timber. On several occasions the boats had to be tied up while Mr. Hough went forward with a skiff to explore for a passage.

Of the early steamboat navigation Mr. Hough says:

"I was at New Orleans, in the spring of 1816, when Captain Henry Shreve, of Brownsville, Pennsylvania, was at the wharf of that city with the steamboat *Washington*, a new boat of one hundred and fifty tons burden. She was preparing for her trip to Louisville. The price asked for a cabin passage was one hundred and fifty dollars and for freight five dollars per hundred pounds. I regarded the charge most exorbitant, and in preference, bought a horse and went home by land. Captain Shreve made his trip at that time in twenty-five days, and on his arrival at Louisville the citizens gave him a public dinner for having made the trip in so short a time. In a few remarks he made on the occasion, he told them he believed that the time would come when the trip would be made in *fifteen* days. He was regarded as being insane on the subject; the event was regarded as impossible.

"Those engaged in steamboat navigation of the great rivers at the present day know but little, if anything, of the difficulties that were encountered by Captain Shreve and other pioneers in steamboat navigation. Wood could not be obtained as now; no woodyards had been established. The officers were often compelled

to take their crews into the woods and cut and haul a sufficient quantity to last the usual time of running. The wood thus obtained was necessarily green, and but little suited for making steam. The officers had everything to learn in relation to their business. Engineers had no science, and but little experience in operating an engine. Pilots were generally flat-boatmen, who knew the channels of the river imperfectly, and nothing about the management of a steamboat. In fact, Captain Shreve labored under so many difficulties that it was not to be wondered at that he should have occupied twenty-five days in making the trip.

"My first trip on a steamboat from New Orleans was made in the spring of 1819, with Captain Israel Gregg (the person to whom I bound myself as an apprentice), on board the steamboat *General Clark*. We were nineteen days in making the trip, and perfectly satisfied with the result."

When the partnership of Hough, Blair & Co. was dissolved, in 1811, Mr. Hough, with the writer of this sketch, commenced the business of purchasing wheat, having it ground into flour, and taking it to New Orleans on speculation. This partnership was closed in February, 1815. Our adventures had been fortunate, each realizing a handsome profit on our investments. In March, 1815, Mr. Hough again commenced the mercantile business, with Samuel Millikin, and afterward with Lewis West, and continued it, sometimes with and sometimes without a partner, till the fall of 1825, when he wound up his business in Ohio and removed to Vicksburg, Mississippi, where he opened a

store. In 1828 he sold out and commenced speculating in land, in which he was quite successful.

He continued to hold his property in Hamilton. He also owned a valuable farm in the southern part of Butler county, where he resided after his return with his family from Vicksburg, which he cultivated with great taste, raising some of the choicest fruit in the Miami valley. With the exception of a few years, during which his family resided in Vicksburg, he continued regularly to go south in the fall of the year, and to return to Butler county with the opening of spring. His last visit was his twenty-ninth trip since his first removal to Vicksburg. On this visit he was attacked with typhoid fever, which, after a severe and protracted illness, terminated his life on the 23d day of April, 1853, at the age of seventy years and nearly two months. His remains were brought to Hamilton by his son-in-law, Major John M. Millikin, and were interred in Greenwood Cemetery on the 3d day of May, 1853.

It is a difficult matter for the present generation to appreciate the trials and hardships endured by the pioneers who laid the foundations of our institutions and our prosperity. It is well for us, as one by one they pass away, to pause and reflect upon their lives and experiences, that we may do justice to their memory, and keep alive the recollections of their hardy virtues, their simple habits, and their perilous enterprises.

While we enjoy the peaceful security and boundless comforts which their hardships and sacrifices were, under God, the means of securing for us, let us keep a place in our memory where their names shall be enshrined. Let us learn to imitate their noble deeds, and shun their errors where errors were exhibited.

Among the intimate acquaintances of Joseph Hough there was little difference of opinion in regard to the general features of his character. He was eminently a practical man. Clearness of perception and promptness of action were traits that no one would fail at once to observe in him. A decision once made, its execution was immediately entered upon, and so firm were his purposes that no ordinary obstacle ever prevented its accomplishment. He was remarkable for method and punctuality; very seldom did he ever suffer anything to interfere with an engagement he had made. It is by no means surprising these traits should have resulted in pecuniary success, and the acquirement of a handsome fortune.

Mr. Hough was never physically robust, but he had such firmness of fibre and activity of temperament as to maintain great vigor and litheness of movement up to the period of his last illness. His attachments were warm and persevering. As a husband and father, nothing that affection could bestow was ever withheld from his family. In transacting business he was exact even to minuteness, but the demands of charity he ever met

with a cheerful liberality. There are many instances of his assistance to unfortunate friends, and kindness to the children of deceased relatives and friends, which exhibit this trait in his character in a praiseworthy manner. He entertained views on some points of business peculiar to himself, but our community has furnished few examples among business men so worthy of close imitation. His persevering industry, his temperate habits, his judicious economy, his prompt fidelity to his engagements and steadiness of purpose, may well be held up for the imitation of all who are now entering upon the active stage from which he has been called.

He was for several years previous to his death a consistent member of the Methodist Episcopal church.

Seldom has it been the lot of any one to be more blessed and happy in domestic relations than he was. On the 27th day of December, 1810, he married Jane, daughter of Joseph Hunter, a respectable farmer in Butler county, sister of the wife of the late John Reily. She was a most excellent woman, and a devoted and consistent christian.

She died in 1840. They had but one child, Mary Greenlee Hough, now the wife of Major John Minor Millikin, son of the late Doctor Daniel Millikin. Major Millikin studied and practiced law some years in Hamilton, but he relinquished the practice, and now resides about two miles from Hamilton, on a fine farm

which he owns, and cultivates in a scientific and tasteful manner. Doctor Daniel Millikin was one of the pioneers of the county, and the first regular physician who settled permanently in Hamilton. He was born in Washington county, Pennsylvania, on the 14th day of February, 1779; studied medicine and removed to Hamilton in May, 1807, where he continued to reside, practicing his profession in the Miami valley, among the children and grandchildren of his early friends, until the time of his death, over forty-two years. His enterprising spirit did not permit him to confine his usefulness to the practice of his profession. During the war of 1812, when the frontiers of Ohio were threatened, and her outposts beseiged, he, at the head of a company of his neighbors, marched to their relief. Afterward, before the militia system fell into neglect, he rose to the rank of brigadier general. He was also a member of the legislature of Ohio, and served twenty-one years as associate judge of the court of common pleas of Butler county, discharging with faithfulness and ability these and other important civil trusts. He died at Hamilton on Saturday, September 3d, 1849, in the 71st year of his age, and on the Monday following his remains were buried in Greenwood Cemetery. He was a man of uprightness, simplicity of manners, amenity of temper, and liberality of soul.

VII.

John Woods.

ALEXANDER WOODS, father of John Woods, was a native of Ireland, born in the county of Tyrone, in 1768. In 1790 he left his native land and emigrated to the United States, and resided for some years in the eastern part of Pennsylvania. He afterward came to the west; first to Kentucky and afterward to Warren county, Ohio, where he purchased a farm a few miles east of the town of Franklin, which he improved, and on which he resided until the time of his decease. He died on the 9th day of January, 1848, at the advanced age of eighty years. In 1793, Alexander Woods was married in Pennsylvania to Mary Robinson. She was born in 1762, consequently she was about six years older than her husband. She died on the 16th of August, 1828, aged about sixty-six years. The fruits of this marriage were eight children:

I. John Woods, the oldest son, the subject of this notice, born in Jonestown, Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, on the 18th of October, 1794.

II. Samuel Woods, the second son, born on the 26th

of November, 1796. He studied medicine and practiced several years, but preferring mechanical pursuits became a practical silversmith. He died in Hamilton, in 1847, leaving seven children.

III. Jane Woods, a daughter born on the 21st of July, 1798; married Mr. Bonner, of Ross county, Ohio, whom she still survives.

IV. James Woods, born on the 24th of September, 1800. He married Maria Robeson, a daughter of the late Major William Robeson, who formerly lived on Seven Mile creek. He was a farmer, and lived a short distance north of Darrtown, Butler county, Ohio. He and his wife are both dead.

V. Alexander Woods, born on the 12th of January, 1802, still resides on the old farm near Franklin, and has three children.

VI. Mary Woods, born on the 16th of April, 1803, married Jonathan Gray, a respectable farmer in independent circumstances, who lives on the south line of Butler county, six miles from Hamilton. She has had six children, four of whom survive.

VII. William C. Woods, born on the 14th of August, 1806. He graduated at the Miami university in 1833, studied law, and was admitted to the bar, and commenced the practice of his profession in Hamilton, but soon afterward died.

VIII. Rebecca Woods, born on the 15th of November, 1810. She was married to James Kennedy, of

Chillicothe. She still resides there and has three children.

When Alexander Woods settled upon his land, in what is now Warren county, in the year 1797, the country was a primitive wilderness, the lofty trees had to be prostrated, and the dense forest cleared by hard labor, before the land could be brought to a fit condition for cultivation. His son, John, then in almost infancy, was reared in a log cabin, and as soon as his strength would admit, had to participate in the labors of the farm. He received such an education as the common schools of the country at that time afforded, which, by severe study at nights and such times as he could spare from hard labor on the farm, he improved, much to his advantage in after life. He served as a soldier in the war of 1812. He was included in the last draft of the Ohio militia which was made in 1814, and was in the garrison at Fort Meigs when peace with Great Britain was proclaimed. On his return from the army, he opened an English school in the neighborhood of Springborough, which he continued for one or two years. From boyhood, Mr. Woods had formed the resolution of acquiring an education and finally becoming a lawyer; and for the purpose of enabling him to carry out his design, he contracted, for a certain compensation, to clear a piece of ground adjacent to where his father lived, as a means of support. He built a hut or camp on his clearing, and after chopping and

mauling the heavy timber all day, at night he often read and studied law in his rude cabin, while others slept. He pursued his course of reading under the direction of Hon. John McLean, who had been a member of congress, and was afterward one of the judges of the supreme court of the United States. Mr. Woods prosecuted his studies in this manner for some time, and went regularly once a week to Lebanon, where Judge McLean then resided, to recite to him and receive instructions. He afterward devoted his time more exclusively to the study of law. Having qualified himself for admission to the bar, and having undergone an examination, touching his legal knowledge and abilities, he made application to the supreme court of the State, sitting at Dayton, in Montgomery county, at their June term, 1819, and was admitted to practice as an attorney and counselor at law in the courts of Ohio. Afterward, in January, 1725, he received a license as attorney and solicitor at law to practice in the courts of the United States. In August, 1819, he established himself in Hamilton, and opening an office on the 19th of that month, commenced the practice of his profession. The courts of Hamilton were then attended by some of the old and able lawyers from Cincinnati and Lebanon, with whom Mr. Woods had to come in competition. At his first attempts at the bar, Mr. Woods said that he sometimes felt himself in rather an awkward predicament, with a confusion of ideas; but,

reflecting that but few of a large audience could immediately perceive what was sound sense or the reverse, that those who were capable of thus discriminating were probably the most generous and indulgent to youthful orators, and that it was necessary at all events, to succeed in his profession, he made it a positive rule never to sit down, or to hesitate, or halt, but to talk on, and go ahead. And he did go ahead. In 1820 he was appointed prosecuting attorney for the county of Butler, in which office he served until the year 1825, at which time his services as a member of congress commenced, when he resigned.

On the 20th of June, 1820, John Woods was married to Miss Sarah Ann Lynch, of Springborough, Warren county. She was a native of South Carolina, born on the 29th of December, 1801. They forthwith commenced house-keeping in Hamilton. At the general election in October, 1824, he was elected a representative in congress from the second congressional district, composed of the counties of Butler and Warren, over Thomas R. Ross, of Lebanon, who had been the former representative. His term of service commenced on the 4th of March, 1825, but he was not required to take his seat until the first Monday of December following.

On the 18th day of October, 1824, Mr. Woods formed a partnership with Michael B. Sargent, in the practice of the law. Mr. Sargent was a fine classical

and literary scholar, as well as a thorough lawyer. His qualifications and strict attention to business in superintending the affairs of the office, while Mr. Woods was absent attending congress, was of great advantage to Mr. Woods. Mr. Sargent died suddenly on the night of the 19th of May, 1830, aged thirty-three years. He was found in the morning dead in his bed, in the room adjoining their law office, supposed to have expired by apoplexy, or some similar affection, of which, it is said, he had discovered some previous symptoms. He lies buried in the old graveyard at Hamilton.

When Mr. Woods' first term in congress expired, he was again elected for a second term, so that he served four years from the 4th of March, 1825, until the 4th of March, 1829. While there he was distinguished for his industry and attention to business. On the 18th of January, 1828, Mr. Woods, from the committee on roads and canals, made a report accompanied by a bill "to aid the State of Ohio in extending the Miami canal from Dayton to Lake Erie." The bill was twice read and committed, and finally passed, and became a law on the 4th of May following.* By this law there was granted to the State of Ohio a quantity of land equal to the one-half of five sections in width, on each side of said canal between Dayton and the Maumee river at the mouth of the Auglaize. The same law also granted to

*Laws of the United States, vol. viii, pages 118, 119.

the State of Ohio, the further quantity of five hundred thousand acres of land for the purpose of aiding the State in the payment of the debts which had been or might thereafter be contracted in the construction of her canals.

Mr. Woods was a warm friend of internal improvement, and while in congress advocated that measure with all his energy. At the session just referred to, the subjects of the tariff, internal improvement, Indian appropriations, and Indian affairs, were largely debated, in all of which he took a prominent part. He was decided and ardent in politics, as he was in every thing else. He warmly opposed the election of General Jackson to the presidency. This threw him in the minority in Butler county, which was then about three-fourths in favor of Jackson. The consequence was, that at the end of his second term, he was defeated by the election of James Shields. After Mr. Woods retired from Congress, he became the proprietor, publisher, and editor of the *Hamilton Intelligencer* which he conducted with great ability for three years, a portion of the latter part of the time in connection with Lewis D. Campbell, who assumed the business management of the concern. Although Mr. Woods was engaged in editing a newspaper, and attending to various other kinds of business, he did not relinquish the practice of his profession as a lawyer, but prosecuted it vigorously until the year 1845. On the 30th day of

January, 1845, the legislature of the State of Ohio elected him auditor of state, for the term of three years from the fifteenth day of March ensuing, at which time he went to Columbus and entered upon the duties of his office.

At that time the State of Ohio had been running in debt, from year to year, borrowing money to pay the interest on the State debt, and thus compounding it until the public obligations loomed up in fearful magnitude. John Brough, the former auditor, had vainly endeavored to accomplish a reform in taxation; fear brooded over the members of the legislature; none dared to touch the dreaded subject. It was necessary that something should be done. Mr. Woods represented the condition of affairs to the legislature and strongly urged upon them to take measures to remedy the evil, and it was mainly through his instrumentality and by his courage, industry and perseverance that the State was saved from repudiation, bankruptcy, and ruin.

By virtue of his office, Mr. Woods was one of the board of fund commissioners, who contracted the loans on behalf of the State, and had the control of the public debt. When he went into office there was not found in any of the offices at Columbus a book in which was entered an account by which the condition of the State debt could be clearly seen. Mr. Woods procured a set of books, and from the loose papers found in the office of the fund commissioners, and in the auditor's

office, he had a set of accounts opened, showing the amount of each description of public debt, and the balance remaining outstanding. He also introduced important reforms in the mode of keeping some of the accounts in the office, by which they were simplified and rendered more intelligible. As auditor, he left indelible marks on the policy and history of the State. He had determined to relinquish his office at the expiration of his first term of three years; but through the persuasion of a number of his influential friends throughout the State, he was induced to serve for another term, and accordingly was re-elected and remained until March, 1851, when he returned to Hamilton. His habits of industry and restless energy would not, however, permit him to remain idle. He became president of the Eaton and Hamilton railroad company, and brought his strong powers to bear on the prosecution and completion of that work. Previous to the second election, after Mr. Woods became president, a proposition was agitated and advocated by many for the construction of a branch road from Eaton to Piqua, by the Eaton and Hamilton company. This, Mr. Woods strongly opposed, and in consequence was defeated at the second election. Subsequent events have proved the correctness of his judgment on this subject. With some difficulty and trouble, the Eaton and Hamilton railroad company have since been released from their obligation to construct that branch of road.

Immediately after retiring from the Eaton and Hamilton road, Mr. Woods was appointed, and accepted the office of president of the Junction railroad, leading from Hamilton to Oxford, Connersville, and thence to Indianapolis, to the prosecution of which work he brought his energy to bear, and faithfully attended to the business of the office, with honor to himself, and to the advantage of the company, until the time of his death.

Mr. Woods was indefatigable and persevering in everything he undertook.* His energy was untiring

* The following anecdote is related in a late number of the *Cincinnati Times:*

"WHY THERE NEVER HAS BEEN A MAN HUNG IN BUTLER COUNTY.—Just at this time, when there is a probability that there *will* be a man hung in Butler county, it may be of interest to our readers to know *why* an execution has never taken place in that locality.

In the summer of 1835, a man named Sponsler, then residing in Madison township, Butler county, Ohio, shot and killed his son-in-law, for which offense he was arrested and lodged in the county jail. When Sponsler was brought to trial, Hon. John Woods, an eminent lawyer, one of the oldest members of the Hamilton bar, and former member of congress from the second district, was appointed by the court to defend him, which he did with all the legal acumen possible, taking advantage of every circumstance, and fighting the case inch by inch. In spite, however, of all his herculean efforts, the prisoner was found guilty of murder in the first degree. Motions for a new trial and in arrest of judgment failing, Sponsler was sentenced to be hung on Friday, June 10, 1836.

Immediately after sentence was rendered, his counsel set to work,

and his firmness indomitable. His early course of life had rendered his constitution hardy and capable of great endurance. At the bar, his conduct was a model for

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nor did he cease until a commutation of sentence to imprisonment for life was procured. This change of affairs, however, had not reached the ear of the public, and at the hour and place appointed an immense crowd assembled, *to see the first man hung in Butler county!*

When the mob—for it could be called nothing else—found that the execution was not to come off, filled to the muzzle with fighting whisky, they threatened to storm the jail, then a frail structure, situated on the public square, in the rear of where the present court-house now stands.

William Sheeley, a man of herculean proportions, was then sheriff, and called to his assistance a number of able-bodied men. Taking a view of the situation, the mob considered "discretion the better part of valor," and dispersed.

Before Sponsler could be taken to Columbus to undergo the penalty of life imprisonment, exasperated by the trying scenes through which he had already passed, he managed to commit suicide, by cutting his throat in his cell.

This final act in the tragedy, together with the disgraceful scenes formerly enacted, so disgusted the prisoner's counsel that he then and there made a solemn vow that so long as he lived, *there should never be a man hung in Butler county.* How faithfully his vow was kept is known to the public, inasmuch as throughout his life he was untiring in his efforts to secure commutation of sentences of death to imprisonment for life, and it is said that his dying request was, that his relatives should pursue a similar course. This, we are informed, they have faithfully done; and thus have we given *the reason why there has never been a man hung in Butler county.*

In conclusion, we may add that there are yet living in Hamilton a number of influential relatives of the Hon. John Woods, but whether

imitation, despising all low and illiberal practice. To the junior members of the bar he was ever prompt to extend his friendship and patronage; and as an adviser to young men beginning life he won many friends among rising men by his generous treatment and sympathy. To the judges of the court he was polite and respectful; and to witnesses he was considerate and candid, never attempting to puzzle or embarrass them, except when there were strong signs of falsehood or corruption. None, it is believed, ever discharged their trusts as a lawyer with more scrupulous fidelity and spotless integrity.

The strong mind and energy of Mr. Woods have left their impression on almost every public improvement in and about Hamilton. He was a liberal contributor to everything which had for its object the promotion of the happiness of man. Many years ago he took a leading part in founding and establishing the Hamilton and Rossville female academy, in which institution many of the daughters of our prominent citizens received their education, who are now matrons and engaged in the active duties of life, and we hope that

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they will interfere in behalf of the convict John Griffin, or not, remains to be seen; or, in other words, we might more properly say, that the probabilities of Governor Hayes being so easily worked upon as former governors, are doubtful."

Griffin *was* hung at Hamilton, July 29, 1869.

the proceeds arising from that establishment, will yet prove the basis of a nobler institution.

He was active in the construction of the Cincinnati and Hamilton turnpike road, of which he was a director. He was president of the Hamilton, Darrtown and Fairhaven turnpike, and spent much time in attending to the location and construction of the road, and to its business afterward. He was one of the leading spirits in projecting and constructing the Hamilton and Rossville hydraulic works, which have brought such an immense water power to our doors, and is one of the principal elements of the prosperity of the town. He spent considerable time in procuring subscriptions to the Cincinnati, Hamilton and Dayton railroad, in which he was largely interested, and of which he was a director during his life. Indeed, far more of the labor and energy displayed in carrying forward that great work came from Mr. Woods than from any other man. In short, wherever any useful improvement was projected, there was Mr. Woods ready to contribute to its accomplishment by his means and his energy.

In his temperament Mr. Woods was decidedly amiable, and of a most kind and forgiving disposition. His walk through life was without a deviation from the paths of honor and rectitude. In his dealings and business relations, he was prompt, honorable, and expert, and a pattern of integrity. Law and order had in him an undeviating advocate. He was always found

on the moral side of every public question. He was a regular attendant at the house of worship of the Associate Reformed church, of which he was a consistent member. The purity of his private morals has never been questioned.

In the early part of the month of July, 1855, Mr. Woods was attacked with inflammation of the lungs, so severe as to cause strong apprehensions of its fatal termination. However, he became better, and hopes were entertained that his system would rally, but the disease finally terminated in typhoid fever, with ulceration of the bowels, which ended his existence on Monday, the 30th day of the month, in the sixty-first year of his age. Thus closed a useful and well-spent life.

During his severe and protracted illness, he always manifested an humble submission to the will of heaven and resignation to his fate, that could only flow from the expectation of a better life.

Proceedings of the Court and Bar, July 31, 1855.

The District Court of Butler county having met at two o'clock P. M., Judge Elijah Vance announced that since the last session of the court, on yesterday, at five o'clock P. M., the Hon. John Woods, the oldest member of this Bar, departed this life; and thereupon moved that the court adjourn, in order that measures might be taken to attend the funeral of the deceased. Thereupon Judge Kennon ordered the sheriff to adjourn the court until to-morrow morning at eight o'clock.

A meeting of the Bar was then organized by the appointment

of William H. Smith, Esq., chairman, and N. C. McFarland, Esq., secretary. On motion, the Chair appointed a committee of three, consisting of Valentine Chase, John M. Millikin, and Judge James Clark to report resolutions. The committee, through Mr. Chase, reported the following preamble and resolutions:

WHEREAS, God, in the dispensation of His providence, has removed from among us, by death, John Woods, for more than thirty years a member of this Bar, who, by his strict integrity, generous deportment, and active benevolence, had endeared him not only to us, but also to our whole people; therefore, for the purpose of showing our respect for the man while living, and for his memory when dead, be it

Resolved, That this Bar has heard, with deep sorrow, of the death of a fellow-member and friend; and that we regard it as no ordinary calamity that the lawyer, statesman, citizen, and christian should thus be stricken down in the vigor of ripened manhood and upon the very theater of his usefulness; and that we will be admonished by this of the certainty of death, and the necessity of the solemn injunction, "Be ye also ready."

Resolved, That the Bar will attend the funeral this afternoon, at five o'clock, in a body, with crape upon the left arm, and that eight of its members be appointed to act as pall-bearers on the occasion.

Resolved, That the District Court, now in session in this county, be requested to direct that these proceedings be spread upon the minutes of the court, and that the clerk be requested to send a transcript thereof to the family of the deceased.

The Chair appointed the following gentlemen to act as pall-bearers, in accordance with the resolutions: Elijah Vance, John

M. Millikin, Thomas Millikin, Josiah Scott, Thomas Moore, James Clark, Isaac Robertson, and David Heaton.

During the pendency of the motion to adopt the resolutions, remarks were made by John M. Millikin, Thomas Millikin, Valentine Chase, John R. Lewis, James Clark, and L. W. Ross, illustrative of the life and character of the deceased, and tending to show that he was a man of strict integrity, great power, and unbending purpose; and, at the same time, combining therewith a forgiving disposition, more than ordinary kindness, and eminent practical benevolence; and that in his last sickness he was sustained by the christian's hope. The resolutions were then adopted.

It was moved and carried that the papers of Butler county be requested to publish these proceedings; and thereupon the meeting adjourned.

W. H. SMITH, Chairman.

N. C. McFARLAND, Secretary.

The funeral took place at five o'clock P. M. on Tuesday, the 31st. The services on the occasion were by the Rev. William Davidson, of the Associate Reformed church, of which Mr. Woods was a member; after which, the corpse was conveyed to Greenwood Cemetery, followed by one of the largest concourses of citizens ever assembled in Hamilton on a similar occasion. His remains were consigned to the tomb amid the regrets of numerous friends, and with the respect due to a life of integrity and useful public services.

Mr. Woods left his widow, Sarah Ann, and several

children surviving him. They had born to them six daughters and two sons.

I. Mary Woods, born June 3, 1821. She married Dr. Cyrus Falconer, the son of an early and respectable citizen of Rossville. He was a graduate of the Ohio medical college at Cincinnati, and resides in Hamilton, pursuing successfully the practice of his profession.

II. Sarah Woods, born January 18, 1823. She died on Friday the 21st of February, 1823.

III. Martha Woods, born February 14, 1824; married William Beckett, the son of a wealthy farmer of Butler county. He graduated at Miami university in 1844; studied law and was admitted to the Bar; but turned his attention to manufacturing operations. He owns and operates a very extensive paper-making establishment on the hydraulic in Hamilton.

IV. Sarah Woods (second), born October 10, 1827, died July 23, 1840.

V. Rebecca Woods, born February 17, 1831. She married William H. Miller, a lawyer of Hamilton.*

VI. Rachel Woods, born April 6, 1835. Was married September 13, 1855, to Samuel K. Worthington,

* Mr. Miller was commissioned as lieutenant in the Twelfth Ohio Regiment of infantry, and fell in the Western Virginia campaign under General Rosecrans, in August, 1861. His remains were interred in the cemetery at Hamilton.

commission merchant of Buffalo, New York, where she resides with her husband.

VII. Cyrus Falconer Woods, was born December 8, 1840, and died on the 24th day of November, 1844.

VIII. John Woods, the youngest, and only son living, was born on the 19th of June, 1838.*

* He graduated at Miami university in 1860, subsequently studied theology at Alleghany and at Princeton seminaries, and was ordained to the ministry in the O. S. Presbyterian church, by the Presbytery of Oxford. He is now pastor of the congregation at Bloomingburg, Ohio. In a note, recently received from him, he says: "Since Mr. McBride wrote his sketch, my uncle, Alexander Woods, Mrs. Bonner, and Mrs. Kennedy have died. Mrs. Gray is the only one of my grandfather's family now living. Mrs. Kennedy's children have also followed her excepting one son, the youngest of the family. My father's constitution was remarkably vigorous; he scarcely knew what it was to be sick, and could go through a greater amount of labor than any man I ever knew; yet all his brothers and sisters, now gone, died of *consumption*."

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